SECRET VISIONS OF THE FIFTH DALAI LAMA

The Gold Manuscript in the Fournier Collection

Samten Gyaltsen Karmay

Foreword by
His Holiness the Fourteenth Dalai Lama

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CONTENTS

	Page
Foreword by His Holiness the Fourteenth Dalai Lama	vi
Preface	xiii
Introduction — *The Early Kings — The Phag-mo gru-pa Rulers — The Rulers of Tsang — The Dalai Lamas — The Fifth Dalai Lama*	1
The Secret Biography and the *Gold Manuscript*	13
The Style and Artistic Context *by Heather Stoddard*	19
Summary of the Tibetan Texts	27
The *Gold Manuscript* Illustrations and their commentary	75
The Tibetan Texts	175
Glossary	238
Bibliography	242
Index	244

THE DALAI LAMA

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KANGRA DISTRICT
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F O R E W O R D

From the series of incarnations of body, speech, mind, qualities and activity of the Religious King Trisong Detsen, who was so kind to the Snow Land of Tibet, that have apppeared from time to time the great Fifth Dalai Lama, who inaugurated the Gaden Podrang Government, was an incarnation of his activity. Among the three sets of his collected works known as Outer, Inner and Extremely Secret Teachings, the last include the Extremely Secret Visionary Teachings, which comprise twenty-five texts and their compiled means of accomplishment (_sadhana_).

Within the classification of Ancient (_Nying-ma_) and New (_gSar-ma_) translations, which are distinguished according to the period in which they were done in Tibet the Extremely Secret Teachings are classified as a cycle belonging to the Ancient translations. And of the three lineages of the Ancient tradition: the Distant Oral Lineage (_ring-brgyud bka'-ma_), the Close Treasure Lineage (_nye-brgyud gter-ma_) and The Profound Pure Visions, (_zab-mo dag-snang_), they belong to the last.

This collection contains many methods of accomplishing activities of peace and ritual ceremonies concerning Spiritual Masters, Meditational Deities, Dakinis and Dharma Protectors. As these were cycles of teachings unique to the great Fifth Dalai Lama, they are like the inheritance of the successive Dalai Lamas. I am very happy and grateful to Mr. Anthony Aris for initiating the publication of these works.

In general, because they belong to the Secret Mantra cycle of teachings, and particularly the Especially Secret Sealed Teachings (_gsung bka' -rgya-ma_), it is improper to disseminate them widely. It is for this reason that in Tibet, these existed only in hand-written form and were not

printed. In the case of the works of the great Fifth Dalai Lama himself, although both the Outer and Inner collections were printed, the Extremely Secret Sealed Teachings are only extant in manuscript form.

Due to the above reasons, those who do study and research into these scriptures must actually engage in a well-laid foundation of the entire profound and extensive paths, such principles of Tibetan Buddhism as the exposition of the Four Noble Truths common to the Great and Low Vehicles and the Six Perfections of the Sutra presentation of the Great Vehicle. In particular, it is extremely important to understand that these cycles of Highest Yoga Tantra, Secret Mantrayana, must only be practised by those who have a firm realization of method and wisdom. Otherwise it is a misunderstanding if what is known as Secret Mantrayana is seen only as a method for averting temporary obstacles and making use of an ordinary person's attachment and hatred.

I simply wish to say that it is of utmost importance that Tantra is not abused in this way.

May 27, 1988

Tender shoots, and agreeable words,
Garlands of *utpala* lotuses, and fine meanings,
These may ravish the hearts of young girls, and conceited learned men,
But what is the use of a chattering discourse on delusive visions?

With the yeast of compassion of the three 'roots',
The ale of blessing is well fermented in me,
Having drunk so much of it, I was crazy to sing strange songs.
Understand them if you can.

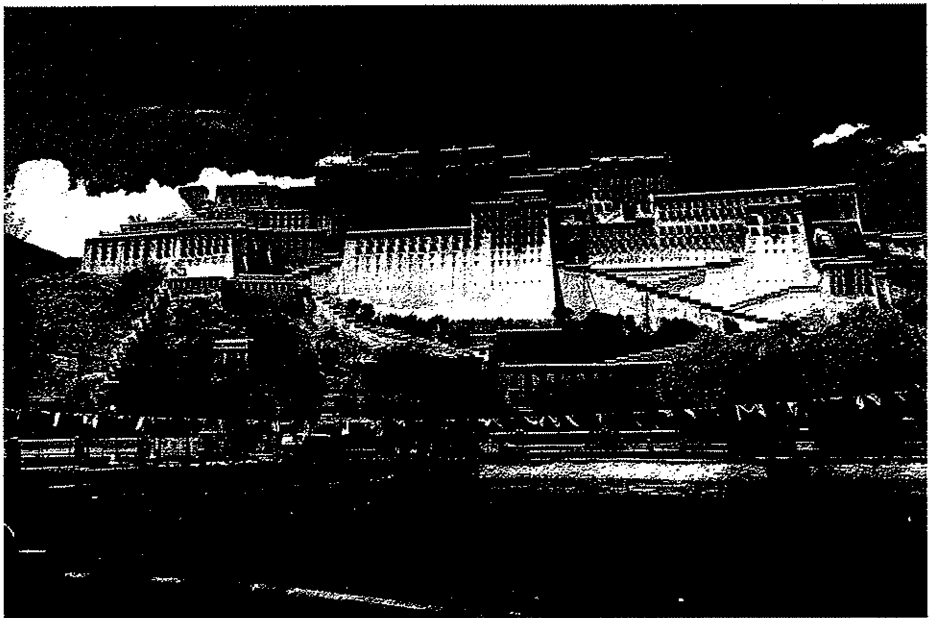
It is not that I claim this work of mine is good,
But it is honest enough to express what actually occurred to me.
I recorded it naturally and without fraud,
As much as whatever my mind could grasp.

Let the lamas and tutelary deities stand witness,
It is important that one is not ashamed.
I, the humble one, have this principle of confidence.
I recorded (these visions) believing that they may be beneficial to myself and others.

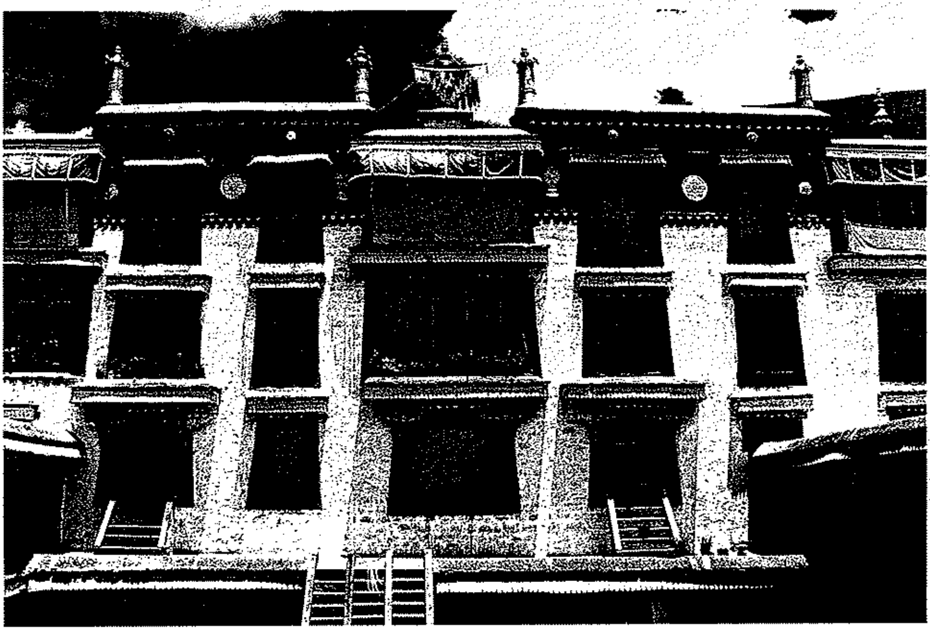
Some, being embarrassed (on reading them), will use the weapon of critical words,
But I will be as calm and aloof as I possibly can.
Those whose karmic propensity awakens will dance,
For them, it will be a counsel for now and ever.

May I myself and those who have a strong inclination,
To record their roaming in the Pure Lands,
By that merit, enjoy good fortune, in coming rebirths,
And reach the highest peak of countless and astonishing wonderlands.

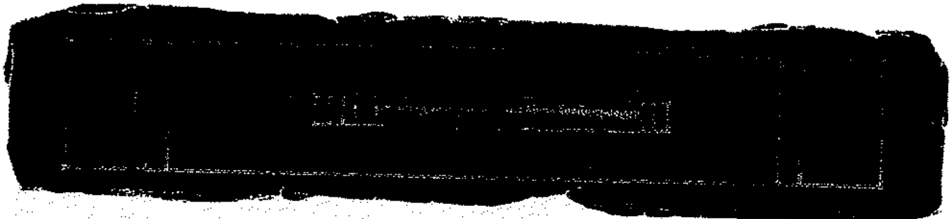
The flowing melody of divine beings, secret spells and wisdom,
At play echoes freely through my body, speech and mind,
Vibrating in the auspicious vase, my vocal chords,
May this melody pervade the spacious realm of the three worlds!



Potala Palace, Lhasa, built by the Fifth Dalai Lama. (Photo: S.G.K., 1987)



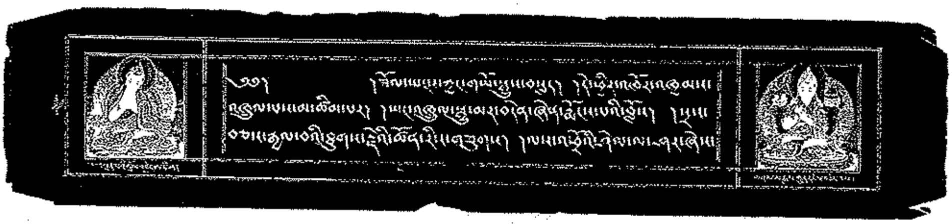
Ganden Phodrang, the Dalai Lama's monastic palace at Drepung where he was enthroned in 1622 as the Fifth Dalai Lama. (Photo: S.G.K., 1987)

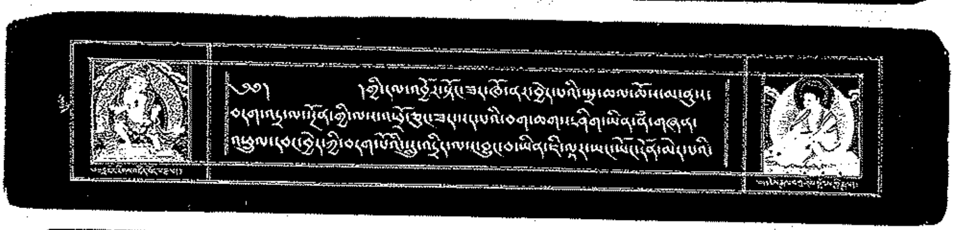


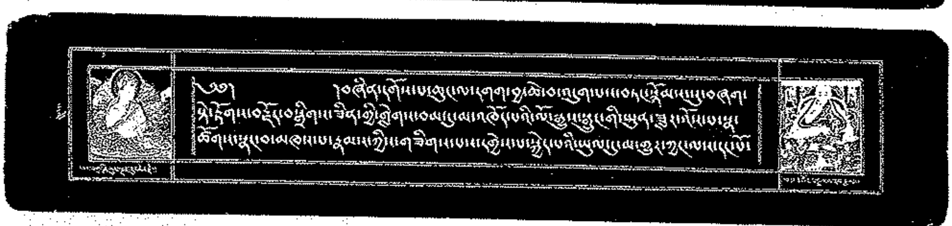
above
Title page of Text I: *Visions and their Significance, being the elucidation of the visions recorded in the sealed volume.*

below
opening leaves of the Gold Manuscript.









opposite
Miniatures in the Gold Manuscript.
1. *Yid-'dzin-ma* (p. 177, 1/1). **2.** *Padmasambhava* (p. 177, 1/2). **3.** *'Tsho-rgyal* (p. 177, 1/3). **4.** *Acarya dMar-po* (p. 221, 3/1). **5.** *Atiśa* (p. 176, 2/1). **6.** *Rig-'dzin Thod-pa-rtsal* (p. 176, 3/1). **7.** *Ngag-dbang blo-bzang rgya-mtsho*, The Fifth Dalai Lama (p. 225, 2/2). **8.** *Tsong-kha-pa* (p. 176, 4/1). **9.** *bKra-shis stabs-rgyal* (p. 176, 3/2). **10.** *Zur* (p. 176, 4/1). **11.** *Padma las-rab-rtsal*, also No. 7 (p. 176, 4/2). **12.** *Zur*, also No. 10 (p. 221, 3/2). **13.** *gShin-rje* (p. 210, 5/1). **14.** *dPal-ldan lha-mo* (p. 225, 2/1). **15.** *sDe-srid Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho* (p. 210, 5/2). **16.** *Chu-srin-gdong* (p. 236, 5/1). **17.** *Seng-ge'i-gdong* (p. 224, 1/2; p. 236, 5/2). **18.** *Chu-srin-gdong*, also No. 16 (p. 224, 1/1).


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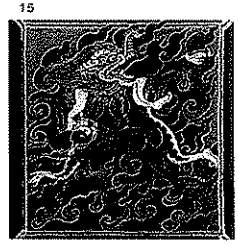

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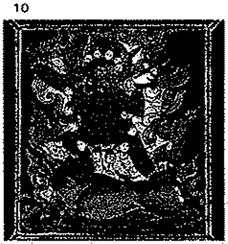
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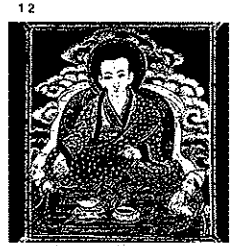
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Chongye (*'phyong-rgyas*) birth-place of the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617–1682). (Photo: Hugh Richardson, 1949)



Samdruptse (*bSam-'grub-rtse*), now Shigatse, where the Fifth Dalai Lama was enthroned as the sovereign of Tibet in 1642. (Photo: Heinrich Harrer 1950. Collection of the Völkerkundemuseum, University of Zurich.)

PREFACE

This book reveals for the first time an unknown work by Ngawang Lobzang Gyamtso, the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617–82) on his visionary experiences from the age of six until one year before his death at sixty-five. It was a few years ago at the Paris flat of my friend M. Lionel Fournier that I was invited to inspect an illuminated Tibetan manuscript that he was about to acquire for his collection. There was no problem as to the artistic quality of the manuscript—its magnificent gold calligraphy and the beautifully executed illustrations were there for all to see, but the authenticity of the contents and the authorship had been questioned, not without reason, by certain anonymous experts.

However, on inspecting the first title-leaf of the manuscript the situation resolved itself. It struck me at once that I had before me a work by the Great Fifth Dalai Lama, not mentioned in any of the known inventories of his writings. Indeed, it became quite evident as I scanned rapidly through it that, from the stylistic approach, the turns of phrase, the ideas expressed and the references to his other works, he was the undoubted author, as it would be obvious to anybody familiar with his writings. This was further confirmed by the time I reached the colophon which is found at the end of the principal text of the manuscript. Although this first examination had to be undertaken in the briefest time under the anxious eyes of those present, I was glad to be able to dispel the doubts expressed by the 'experts' and to confirm its authenticity and authorship and to ascribe the manuscript to the seventeenth century.

Not long after this, I was asked by Lionel Fournier to study the manuscript with a view to its eventual publication. On a more extended examination I came to realise that such work not only would involve research into the activities of the Fifth Dalai Lama and, hence, into the political and religious life of seventeenth-century Tibet, but also that its primary interest lies in the field of Buddhist ritual. I was therefore quite happy to accept the proposal for the very good reason that it coincided with the start of the research project 'Rituels Himālayens' under the direction of Professor Alexander W. Macdonald at the Laboratoire d'Ethnologie et de Sociologie Comparative, Université de Paris X, Nanterre, to which I belong and within whose research program I participate as a Tibetan specialist.

While a certain number of the rituals in question were instituted by the Fifth Dalai Lama and had become annual ceremonies of state, others were performed from time to time or on regular set occasions by the monks of his private college in order to ensure his long life and continued good health. It was often during these ceremonies that he had spiritual and visionary experiences.

Besides the unique texts that the manuscript contains, giving historical accounts of the performance of these Buddhist rituals, the Gold Manuscript also has, as will be seen, a number of superb illustrations of ritual articles, maṇḍalas, cakras and liṅgas. It may be pointed out that no work similar to this manuscript either in the scope of its ritual material or in the high quality of its artistic work has ever been published or even suspected to exist.

In presenting the manuscript an attempt has been made to help the general reader by providing summaries of each of the Tibetan texts and explanations of the illustration, while care has also been taken to reproduce the Tibetan texts in full so that the Tibetologist who wishes to consult them can do so without difficulty.

I should like to express here my profound gratitude to M. Lionel Fournier for the confidence he placed in me as editor of his manuscript, to Dr. John Moores of London University for sparing considerable time in improving my English, to Professors David L. Snellgrove for making critical suggestions, Eric de Dampierre for good counsel, Alexander W. Macdonald for making a number of suggestions, A.-M. Blondeau for intellectual support, my friend Mr. Anthony Aris, the publisher, for undertaking the editorial task and for giving me much advice and practical help, and to Mr. Robert Beer for doing the line drawings.

Let me also express my deep appreciation to Heather Stoddard who has been willing to add a short but indispensable chapter on the aesthetic aspects and style of the manuscript. It must also be recorded that the existence of this book owes much to the close cooperation between Lionel Fournier and Anthony Aris, without whose enthusiasm and efforts this work would never have seen the light of day.

SGK,
Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique,
Paris,
8.2.1987

INTRODUCTION

The Early Kings

Covered from head to foot in a single coat of mail, armed with a spear and a shield, galloping across the deserts of Central Asia for its conquest, the Tibetans enter into recorded history. This was at the beginning of the seventh century A.D., when king *gNam-ri slon-btsan* unified various independent tribes in Central Tibet, and ruled over them from the Yarlung valley—the centre of the dynasty from the time of its mythical founders. However, it was his son, *Srong-btsan sgam-po* (d. 649) who has the credit for building the Tibetan Empire by expanding its frontiers right into those of T'ang China. Because of this aggression, a war which was to last intermittently for two centuries began between the two countries. Amongst his great achievements are his change of political residence from Yarlung to the *sKyid-shod* valley, the area of modern Lhasa where he built a palace on the Red Mount (*dMar-po-ri*) on which now stands the Potala. Furthermore, the first real contact with Buddhism was established at this time, especially through his Nepalese and Chinese wives. He also initiated civil and military laws throughout the land. With the chapels built for the purpose of keeping the images brought by his foreign wives, Buddhist temples began to appear. According to Tibetan historical tradition, it was during the reign of this king that not only was the system of written Tibetan created, but also Buddhist sacred texts in Sanskrit and Chinese were translated into Tibetan for the first time.

According to ancient Tibetan beliefs, the kings were descendants of the *Phyva* gods, the overseers of the world order. They were believed to have possessed certain superhuman powers, particularly the *byin*, 'splendour' of the body for overpowering political and military opponents, and the *'phrul*, 'magic sagacity' of mind which enabled them to sustain the order of the world. These physical and spiritual qualities further enhanced the legitimacy of their rule. They were, above all, warriors who lead the army in person and engaged in battles.

However, it was during the reign of *Khri-srong lde-btsan* (742–97), the second great king that the empire reached the peak of its territorial expansion. In 763, the Tibetan Eastern Army crossed into China and occupied Ch'ang-an (now Xi'an), the capital of the T'ang Empire, and a new emperor was installed temporarily by the Tibetans.

With the founding of *bSam-yas*, the first Buddhist monastery, around 775 A.D., Buddhism, already practised within certain circles in the country, was now adopted as the state religion. On its firm establishment, Buddhist culture flowed into the country from India and China as well as from the occupied territories in Central Asia. Indian and Chinese Buddhist monks flocked into the monastery and the learning of foreign languages, such as Sanskrit, was instituted. Tibetans now began to translate Buddhist texts into Tibetan with greater confidence and precision. For the first time, treatises on Buddhist doctrines written directly in Tibetan by Tibetan Buddhist monks began to appear towards the end of the eighth century. A little later they were followed by the compilation of the renowned Sanskrit-Tibetan dictionary, the *Mahāvyutpatti* in 814 A.D., which is still consulted by scholars today.

Ironically the adoption of Buddhism as the state religion marked the political decline of the Tibetan Empire. Soon after the monastic establishment of *bSam-yas*, a strong pacifist movement began to gain the upper hand in the royal government, although warfare still continued on the Sino—Tibetan frontiers. It was during the reign of king *Ral-pa-can* (805–38), the third great king, that a Buddhist monk, *Bran-ka dPal-gyi yon-tan* occupied, for the first time, the highest ministerial office in the royal government. It was this monk minister who negotiated on the Tibetan side the peace treaty between Tibet and China which was concluded first in Lhasa in 821 and in Ch'ang-an in 822 A.D. The bilingual stone inscription of the treaty still stands in front of the cathedral of Lhasa, the Jokhang.[1]

The last king to rule over the country as well as over the territories in Central Asia was *lHa-sras Dar-ma*, known later by the nickname *Glang Dar-ma*. His supposed opposition to Buddhism earned him much criticism by the Buddhists, but in reality no contemporary evidence can be produced for the fact that he persecuted Buddhism.[2] Nevertheless, he does seem to have dismantled Buddhist monastic institutions which were then frequently involved in the affairs of state, and hence incurred the wrath of the Buddhists. He finally perished in what seems to have been a ritual murder carried out by a Buddhist monk in 842 A.D. The manner in which the murder took place is a favourite theme re-enacted in certain Buddhist rituals, especially among the *rNying-ma-pas*. We will have occasion to refer to similar rituals when dealing with the visionary experiences of the Fifth Dalai Lama.[3]

After the assassination of *Glang Dar-ma*, Tibet once again disintegrated into various petty kingdoms, just as it had been before its unification under *gNam-ri slon-btsan* at the end of the sixth century A.D. The sudden disappearance of *Glang Dar-ma* left no clear successor to the throne and consequently a dispute over the succession between two pretender-sons of the king gradually paved the way for the ensuing civil war. This period of Tibetan history was marked by an extremist Tantric movement, the growth of which had been carefully checked by

1 H. E. Richardson, *A Corpus of Early Tibetan Inscriptions*, Royal Asiatic Society, London 1985, 106–43.

2 S. G. Karmay, 'King Tsa/Dza and Vajrayāna', *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honour of R. A. Stein*, Bruxelles 1981, Vol. I, 192–211.

3 See pp. 66–67

royal decree and by a strong ecclesiastic body during the reign of *Glang Dar-ma*'s predecessors.

At the beginning of the eleventh century, Buddhism once again began to be re-established. However, this time its form was neither the monasticism of the eighth century nor the Tantrism of the ninth century A.D., but a combination of both aspects, giving rise to what is now known as Tibetan Buddhism or Lamaism. In Tibet's religious development the eleventh century was a formative period for subsequent religious movements. It was during the period, too, that there appeared a new mythology of the early kings associated with important Bodhisattvas. Amongst them, three were chosen for their prestige in order to fit in with a triple set of Bodhisattvas, namely *Srong-btsan sgam-po*, *Khri-srong lde-btsan* and *Ral-pa-can*, who were acclaimed as 'manifestations' of *Avalokiteśvara*, *Mañjuśrī* and *Vajrapāṇi* respectively. These kings therefore inevitably became semi-mythical figures in eleventh-century and later Buddhist historical works. *Srong-btsan sgam-po*, the most fearful warrior of all the kings, was now the 'manifestation' of the gentle and benevolent *Avalokiteśvara*, the Lord of Compassion. His palace on the Red Mount in Lhasa was later to be the Potala, named after a mountain in Southern India considered to be a sacred place of *Śiva* and the paradise of the Bodhisattvas for the Buddhists. To crown this wild Buddhist fantasy, the two foreign wives of *Srong-btsan sgam-po* were treated as 'manifestations' of *Tārā* goddesses who were associated with the Bodhisattva in the Buddhist pantheon from early times.

As will be seen, this Buddhist invention gave rise to a new Buddhist ideology which not only had a long-lasting psychological effect on the people, but also a profound symbolic significance in later Tibetan religious and political developments. It is no wonder then that this ideology was often consciously used to legitimize the rule over the people and country by a Buddhist monk who represented the human form of a Bodhisattva (just as had *Srong-btsan sgam-po*), first by the Karma-pas and later by the Dalai Lamas. This explains, as will be seen, why the Fifth Dalai Lama wrote lengthy accounts of his visionary experiences in which the Bodhisattva often takes the appearance of the king.[4]

4 See pp. 39–40, 44, 48–49, 55

The Phag-mo gru-pa Rulers

As the eleventh century wore on, Tibet was still in a ferment of religious movements, but devoid of national leaders. She was destined to become a part of the Mongol Empire at the beginning of the thirteenth century, like her eastern neighbour China. However, within the Mongol Empire, Tibet occupied a place of privilege, unlike other countries subjugated by the Mongols such as China. She assumed in the person of *'Phags-pa* of the *Sa-skya-pa* sect a position of spiritual eminence at the court of Kublai Khan. Consequently there developed a particular relationship between the Tibetan Lama and the Mongol

Khan as respectively priest and patron. However, Tibet finally got rid of the Mongol domination and regained her independence in 1358. The rising power in Tibet at this time was *Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan* (1302–64) of *Phag-mo-gru*. His first action was to topple the puppet government of the *Sa-skya-pa* and gain acknowledgement by the Mongols as the effective leader of the country. Under his national leadership, Tibet justly found a revival of her early glory of the royal period. The *Phag-mo gru-pa* rule occupies a most remarkable period in Tibetan history. It was a time when the greatest luminaries were active, *Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub* (1290–1364), *Klong-chen rab-'byams* (1308–63) and *Tsong-kha-pa* (1357–1419), to cite just three. There was another type of writer very active during the same period, who wrote works mostly on religious themes, imbued with strong national sentiments. These authors are known as *gter-ston*, 'textual rediscoverers'.

In the cultural field, the thirteen fortresses, all in Central Tibet, are witness to the architectural achievements of this period. The fortress *bSam-'grub-rtse* which was situated on the hill of modern Shigatse, in Tsang, is said to be the last of the thirteen to have been built and was later improved during the reigns of the Tsang kings. This great fortress, as will be seen, was an important historical site for establishing the sovereignty of the Dalai Lamas by the Great Fifth in 1642.

The Rulers of Tsang

In 1565, *Zhing-shag Tshe-brtan rdo-rje* who originally served under the *Rin-spungs* ministers of the *Phag-mo-gru*, seized power from his masters and established himself at *bSam-'grub-rtse*. He gradually took over control from the *Phag-mo-gru*. His second successor, *Karma phun-tshogs rnam-rgyal* (regn. 1611–21), became the master of the whole of Central Tibet. However, the administrators of Lhasa still offered their allegiance to the *Phag-mo-gru*. This led to a serious conflict between the two provinces coupled with a sectarian struggle for power. On the one hand, the rulers at *bSam-'grub-rtse*, who were nationalistic, were supported by what were supposed to be men of religion, the Karma-pas of the *bKa'-brgyud-pa* sect. On the other hand, the *Phag-mo gru-pa* administrators at Lhasa were backed by the more recent sect, the *dGe-lugs-pa*, followers of *Tsong-kha-pa*, who had a strong foreign ally, the Mongols. The new sect was now thirsting for political power and because of its foreign connections was the object of suspicion and harassment. The stage was then set for the ensuing civil and religious strife which continued until 1642. It was at the conclusion of this ignoble civil war that the Fifth Dalai Lama, hitherto simply the Abbot of Drepung, finally emerged in triumph as the sovereign of Tibet.

The Dalai Lamas

One of the foremost disciples of *Tsong-kha-pa* was *dGe-'dun-grub* (1319–1475). In 1447, he founded the great monastery of Tashilhunpo, which later became the seat of the Panchen Lamas. After his death, his reincarnation was found in a twelve-year old boy who later, at the time of ordination, was given the name *dGe-'dun rgya-mtsho* (1475–1542). He soon rose to a position of great eminence among the *dGe-lugs-pas*. Although at first he was not accepted as head of the monastery, later he came to occupy not only the throne of his own monastery but also those of Drepung and Sera. He is mostly remembered for the fact that he founded the monastery *Chos-'khor-rgyal* in *rGyal* and for his acquisition of the monastic residence of the *sNe'u-sdong* princes in Drepung. This palace known as the Blue Stone House (*rDo-khang sngon-mo*) was given to him in 1518 by the princes; later he named it the Joyous Palace (*dGa'-ldan pho-brang*), hereafter the Ganden Palace, which then became the official residence of the future Dalai Lamas in the monastery. Just before he died, he is supposed to have foretold that he would return in the body of a young monk. Consequently, not long after his death, a child was hastily recognized as his reincarnation and was enthroned in Drepung. When he was nine he was ordained and given the name *bSod-nams rgya-mtsho* (1543–88).

By now the system of recognizing an infant as the reincarnation of a previous lama among the *dGe-lugs-pas* was firmly established. *bSod-nams rgya-mtsho*, soon enthroned as the grand abbot of Drepung, became very famous for his preaching ability, but his movements were restricted by the *bKa'-brgyud-pa* sect in Tsang. He was soon invited to pay a visit to Mongolia by Altan Khan, the leader of the Tümed Mongols. The *dGe-lugs-pas* very quickly understood the significance of the invitation as it was clear that it opened up for them a new mission field in a foreign country as well as offering them political support. When *bSod-nams rgya-mtsho* met Altan Khan in 1578 near Koko-Nor on the border of Tibet, the two men felt that they were in a similar situation to that of *'Phags-pa* of the *Sa-skya-pa* and Kublai Khan. The Mongol Khan made great gifts and bestowed on the Tibetan lama the title *Dalai Lama Vajradhara*, Lama, the Ocean (of Wisdom), the Holder of the Thunderbolt. The Lama, in return, named the Khan *Chos-rgyal lha'i tshangs-pa*, King of Religion, Brahman among gods. The success of *bSod-nams rgya-mtsho* in converting the Tümed Mongols to the *dGe-lugs-pa* doctrine made him one of the greatest preachers in Asia at the time and his fame soon spread throughout Mongolia and in China. While the *dGe-lugs-pa* saw a strong potential ally in the Mongols, the Khan probably dreamed of ruling Tibet through them as Kublai Khan had done through the *Sa-skya-pa*. However, *bSod-nams rgya-mtsho* died prematurely in Mongolia before being able to return to his monastery, in 1588 at the age of forty-five.

Although the lineage of the Dalai Lamas began thus with *bSod-nams rgya-mtsho*, the Tibetans call his two predecessors also by the

title Dalai Lama. He therefore became known as the Third Dalai Lama.

The next reincarnation was found in one of the Mongol Khan's sons, who was given the name *Yon-tan rgya-mtsho* (1589–1616) and who became the Fourth Dalai Lama. The choice for the reincarnation in the Mongolian family was in fact mere diplomacy and it indeed contributed to furthering the already close relationship between the *dGe-lugs-pas* and the Tümed Mongols. The latter on their side now acquired a convenient right to meddle in the affairs of the *dGe-lugs-pa* church. The King of Tsang, who represented Tibetan national interests, was understandably alarmed by this new development which inevitably further widened the rift between the two provinces. The Mongol Dalai Lama was soon brought to Lhasa with his family escorted by fierce Mongol cavalry. Very little is known about the personality of this Dalai Lama, but he is known to have committed a great blunder by refusing to give an audience to *Karma phun-tshogs rnam-rgyal*, the ruler of Tibet at the time, which provoked an immediate attack on the *dGe-lugs-pa* monasteries by the Tsang forces. Furthermore, the presence of the Mongol Dalai Lama became the symbol of the *dGe-lugs-pas'* foreign connection and caused much consternation even among certain *dGe-lugs-pas* themselves.

However, *Yon-tan rgya-mtsho* suddenly died at the age of twenty-eight in 1616 and the Mongol interest in *dGe-lugs-pa* church affairs disappeared from the stage, at least for the time being, coinciding with the collapse of the Tümed authority in Mongolia itself.

The Fifth Dalai Lama

The Fifth Dalai Lama was born in 1617 in the castle of *'Phying-ba stag-rtse* at *'Phyong-rgyas* in Yarlung to an aristocratic family. His father, *dGra-'dul rab-brtan* by name, was a military official at the court of the *Phag-mo-gru*. *Kun-dga' lha-mdzes*, his mother was from the influential family *sNa-dkar-rtse* who had a strong link with the *Jo-nang-pa* sect. *Tāranātha* (1575–1634), the learned Buddhist historian and head of the sect, was therefore requested to give the child a name: this was *Kun-dga' mi-'gyur stobs-rgyal dbang-gi rgyal-po*. The name contains a part of *Tāranātha*'s own Tibetan name, *Kun-dga' snying-po*, as does the name of the Dalai Lama's mother. *Tāranātha*, ironically, as will be seen, hoped that the boy one day would be a follower of his sect, the *Jo-nang-pa*.

Amongst the Dalai Lama's ancestors, there were some who followed the *rNying-ma-pa* teachings, but his family's favourite sect, at the time, was the *bKa'-brgyud-pa*. Due to the troubled situation in the country, the Tsang ruler suggested that the mother and child come to *bSam-'grub-rtse* for reasons of safety, but the mother chose to go and stay with her own amily at *sNa-dkar-rtse*. The *bKa'-brgyud-pa* sect had already tried to make out the child as a reincarnation of one of their own lamas before he was recognized as that of the Fourth Dalai Lama,

but this was not all. There was also another more serious candidate for the reincarnation of the Fourth Dalai Lama among the *dGe-lugs-pas* themselves. This was *Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan* (1619–54), who was presented as a possible reincarnation before being finally recognized as the reincarnation of *Pan-chen bSod-nams grags-pa* (1478–1554), the teacher of the Third Dalai Lama.

In 1621, *Karma phun-tshogs rnam-rgyal*, the King of Tsang, died and was succeeded by his young son *Karma bstan-skyong dbang-po*. This event calmed the political situation between the two provinces and the following year the discovery of the Dalai Lama's reincarnation was officially proclaimed. The six-year old boy was then escorted to Drepung and enthroned in the Ganden Palace as the Fifth Dalai Lama with the tacit approval of the new King of Tsang.

The Ganden Palace, to which we referred earlier, was the place where the Dalai Lama resided until he was thirty. It was here that the young boy began to have visionary experiences of certain deities. These occurred soon after his arrival in the palace at the age of six, but not much attention was given to them by his attendants at the time.[5]

5 See p. 28.

In 1625, the boy was ordained by *Pan-chen Blo-bzang chos-rgyan* (1567–1662), then the abbot of Tashilhunpo, and was given the name *Blo-bzang rgya-mtsho*. From 1627 onwards he began to study Buddhist philosophy at the feet of *Gling-smad dKon-mchog chos-'phel* (d. 1646), the most authoritative monk among the *dGe-lugs-pas* at the time. The Dalai Lama continued his study until he was about twenty-four, not only of philosophy but also of all the traditional subjects of learning, such as astrology, medicine, poetry and Sanskrit. He often met *Pan-chen Blo-bzang chos-rgyan*, the other most influential personality in his religious education. Although the Dalai Lama was seriously interested in philosophy, he soon came to realize that his training in metaphysics did not do him much good. On the contrary, he felt that it made him haughty with a notion of superiority that became a veritable obstacle in approaching other learned persons. This he realized only when he was nineteen and on the occasion when he met *'Khon-ston dKon-mchog lhun-grub* (1561–1637) who initiated him into the *rDzogs-chen*, the Great Perfection meditation and other *rNying-ma-pa* teachings. This proved to be a turning-point in his religious attitude. Not long after this, he had contact with other *rNying-ma-pa* masters, especially *Zur Chos-dbyings rang-grol* (1610–57) who gave him instructions on various magic rites. The young Dalai Lama became very fond of these rites which left a strong imprint on his personality in later years and indeed on his secret visionary experiences.

During these years of study, he also had to fulfil his duties as Grand Abbot of Drepung which was under the management of his treasurer, *bSod-nams chos-'phel* (1595–1657). The latter was the man who wielded the power behind the scene and who was instrumental in engineering the revolt against and the overthrow of the King of Tsang. From now on we will refer to him as *Zhal-ngo*, his official title. The Dalai Lama himself constantly made friendly overtures to the Tsang

ruler at least in appearance and often in a very conciliatory tone, but the sectarian friction between the *bKa'-brgyud-pa* in Tsang and the *dGe-lugs-pa* in Ü continued to simmer until it boiled over a few years later. However, these years did not pass without political significance and foreign contacts.

In 1637, Gushri Khan, the chief of the Qośot Mongols, was on pilgrimage in Lhasa. The Dalai Lama took him to be the person who was alluded to in a prophecy. He therefore had a throne made for the Mongol in front of *Jo-bo*, the Buddha image in the Jokhang, and conducted a religious ceremony giving the name *bsTan-'dzin chos-rgyal*, '*Dharmarāja*, he who upholds the doctrine', and a gold statue of *Tsong-kha-pa*. The relationship established at this time between the two men had, as will be seen, a far-reaching political consequence.

In 1638, the Dalai Lama took the full ordination, also in the Jokhang, strictly following the *dGe-lugs-pa* tradition and his name *Blo-bzang rgya-mtsho* was now preceded by the word *Ngag-dbang*. At the same time, his interest in the *rNying-ma-pa* teachings deepened and, not long after this, his relationship with *Zur*, the *rNying-ma-pa* master became somewhat conspicuous and the *Zhal-ngo* began to express his disapproval of the *rNying-ma-pa* teachings on the basis of purely sectarian view. This prevented the Dalai Lama for the moment from learning more about their magic rites which he now regarded as indispensable.

In 1640, Gushri Khan heard that the *dGe-lugs-pas* in Tsang were suffering persecution at the hands of the Tsang ruler and his own sectarian group, and the Khan resolved to eliminate the opponents of the *dGe-lugs-pas*. He sent a message to the Dalai Lama informing him of his intention to fight against the king of *Be-ri* who was an ally of the King of Tsang and a Bonpo by faith. Although the Dalai Lama was convinced that the *Be-ri* king was an enemy, he kept himself neutral in the matter. On the other hand, the ambitious *Zhal-ngo* not only approved the plan but also requested the Khan to lead his army directly to Tsang after the campaign in Kham. When the Mongols were fully engaged in the war in Kham, the *Zhal-ngo* asked the Dalai Lama to perform a magic rite (*drag-las, las-sbyor*) on behalf of the Mongol force. The Dalai Lama rebuked him saying that he did not know any magic rites and moreover the *Zhal-ngo* did not approve of such rites![6] Nevertheless, the Dalai Lama, after consulting *Zur*, performed an elaborated magic rite.

6 *Dukula*, Vol. I, f. 87a4.

In 1641, at the New Year, news of the success of the Mongol forces in Kham reached Lhasa and it was learned that the Mongols were now heading towards Tsang. The Dalai Lama himself was taken by surprise at this news, but in fact the Mongols were simply following the *Zhal-ngo*'s instructions which were given in the name of the Dalai Lama. After several month's fighting, the Tsang royal forces had to retreat into the *bSam-'grub-rtse* fortress which meant that the Mongols would have to wait in siege until provisions had run out. The reckless *Zhal-ngo* was now anxious about the seriousness of the situation and

requested the Dalai Lama to go and mediate! The Dalai Lama now showed his real character as a skilful politician and answered to this effect: 'I told you that I never approved of your plans. Now, when everybody knows that we are in revolt, how can I possibly mediate? There is now no question of remaining under the rule of the King of Tsang!'[7]

7 *ibid.*, f. 101b6–101a2.

While the fighting went on at the fortress and in other places, the Dalai Lama invited *Zur* to Drepung and, together, they performed various magic rites against the Tsang royal forces who were now regarded as the enemy of the doctrine, and during these ceremonies the Dalai Lama had various visions.[8]

8 *ibid.*, f. 102a2; see also p. 29.

In 1642, after one year's struggle, the Tsang forces finally surrendered and the young king *Karma bstan-skyong dbang-po* was captured. After a short while, the Mongol Khan invited the Dalai Lama to pay a visit to the newly conquered province. When he arrived at *Thob-rgyal* at a distance of one day's journey from the fortress, the Khan, the *Zhal-ngo* and other dignitaries came to meet him. In a welcoming ceremony, the Khan, amongst other offerings, made over his conquest of Tibet as a gift to the Dalai Lama. The next day, when the Dalai Lama and his now enlarged entourage arrived at the fortress, they were again welcomed by a long procession led by 600 Mongol cavalrymen. The Dalai Lama spent the night in the monastery of Tashilhunpo and the following day he was enthroned in the main hall of the fortress known as *Khams-gsum zil-gnon*. Also on this occasion, at the ceremony of enthronement, the Mongol Khan proclaimed that he had made over his conquest of Tibet as a gift to the Dalai Lama and that the Dalai Lama was from now on the sovereign of Tibet.[9] The ceremony had in a way a strong symbolical effect by re-enacting the prestigious meeting between the *'Phags-pa* Lama and Kublai Khan and the meeting between the Third Dalai Lama and Altan Khan, the leader of the Tümed Mongols. However, there was a great difference between this meeting and the previous ones, as it resulted in the Fifth Dalai Lama's accession to the sovereignty of Tibet and the establishment of the Dalai Lama dynasty which survived in Lhasa until 1959.

9 *ibid.*, f. 106b4–107b6.

The Dalai Lama then returned to Drepung and formed his government which was now called *dGa'-ldan pho-brang*, after the name of his monastic palace. A new Tibetan sovereign state was created in which the Dalai Lama himself was the supreme leader and the Mongol Khan was the titular king of Tibet, but the latter's real function was to defend the country and its newly formed government, always ready to intervene with his soldiers if the situation so required. The other important office instituted was that of the *sDe-srid*, often described as the Regent, but in reality his function was that of a Prime Minister. The *Zhal-ngo* was now appointed to this office with the title of *sDe-srid* which had already been in use from the time of the *Phag-mo gru-pa* rule, when it had the meaning of 'ruler'.

In 1643, the Dalai Lama wrote his famous history of Tibet at the request of Gushri Khan to mark his accession to the sovereignship.

Having created the new Tibetan state, it was now necessary to choose a location for the seat of the government as Drepung was no longer a suitable location for governing the entire country. The choice of Lhasa was obvious as it had already been the ancient capital of the royal period, and moreover the major *dGe-lugs-pa* establishments were mostly in its vicinity.

In 1645, the construction of the Potala Palace began and after five years the part known as the White Palace (*Pho-brang dkar-po*) was completed, and the Dalai Lama moved there from Drepung in 1649. It is the eastern, white-painted, upper part of the edifice and contains the private apartment, public reception halls, a number of temples and government offices. The chamber *Nyi-'od* in the private apartment, the Joyful Reception Hall (*'Chi-med bde-ldan-'khyil*) and the Temple of *Lokeśvara* and *Varti* (*'Phags-pa lha-khang*) were the places where the Dalai Lama often had his visionary experiences. The temple, which is relatively small, contains the two sacred 'self-made' (*rang-byung*) images representing different aspects of the Bodhisattva *Avalokiteśvara*, namely *Lokeśvara* and *Varti* who recur frequently in the Dalai Lama's visionary accounts. The image *Lokeśvara* is believed to have belonged to King *Srong-btsan sgam-po* and was originally kept on the Red Mount (*dMar-po-ri*), but in the medieval period it passed through various hands, finally arriving in Kham, whence it was returned to Lhasa just when the construction of the Potala Palace began in 1645.

The central part of the Potala, known as the Red Palace (*Pho-brang dmar-po*), was built in 1690 by the Regent *Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho* (1653–1705) who was the greatest and last of all the regents. It took four years to complete and amongst many religious monuments, it contains the tombs of the Fifth Dalai Lama and his successors.

The Potala also contained an important institute known as *rTse rNam-rgyal grva-tshang* (hereafter the Namgyal College), a small private establishment of monks for performing rituals for the Dalai Lamas. It was first founded in 1574 by the Third Dalai Lama in Drepung and was based at the monastery until it moved to the Potala when the Dalai Lama took up residence there. Later a special quarter in the Potala known as *gSang-sngags dga'-tshal* was assigned to this college whose duty was to perform, amongst other rituals, the public ceremonies of long life for the Dalai Lama in the reception hall already referred to. It was here and during these ceremonies that the Dalai Lama often had visionary experiences. It was also from the monks of this college that most of the private official attendants of the Dalai Lama were chosen, for instance the chief sacristan (*mchod-dpon*) who could rise to the position of the Regent.

One of the most important diplomatic relationships which the Dalai Lama entertained was undoubtedly with the government of the Manchu Empire. He was invited to make a state visit to Peking in 1648 by Shun Chih, the first Emperor of the Manchu Dynasty. The request was accepted in 1649 and the visit took place after four years of negotiation. In 1652, the Dalai Lama set out from Lhasa with some

3,000 men and when he arrived at the Sino-Tibetan border after nearly one year's journey, he sent a letter to the Emperor asking him to come to meet him at the border. This caused a protocol crisis among the Manchu court officials, although the Emperor personally wished to comply with the Dalai Lama's request. Thus it was finally agreed that the Emperor should make the journey, but would actually meet the Dalai Lama within Manchuria as the latter was the one invited. At Kheritaka in Manchuria a palace was specially built for the Dalai Lama to rest on the way, and there he left most of his attendants. He continued the journey with only three hundred officials and on the way was met by a series of imperial emissaries before arriving at Chenlo'u where the Emperor was already waiting for him. At a short distance from the imperial throne, the Dalai Lama dismounted from his horse and the Emperor descended from his throne and came to greet him. The two sovereigns clasped each other's hands and exchanged their greetings through interpreters. Early in the New Year 1653, the Dalai Lama arrived in Peking where further official receptions and banquets were reciprocated. The Dalai Lama took up residence in what is known as the Yellow Temple, specially built for his state visit. After two months' stay in Peking, he returned to Tibet.

After this long journey, he mostly occupied himself with religious practices and writing. His written work consists of 235 titles making up 24 volumes, as well as the *Sealed and Secret Biography* (*gSang-ba'i rnam-thar rgya-can*) of which *Visions and their Significance* (*mThong-ba don-ldan*), the Gold Manuscript in the Fournier Collection, is a summary.[10]

10 See p. 27.

During these years, he also founded a number of monasteries. However, one of the ecclesiastic institutions he established was to have unfavourable political consequences for Tibetan unity. This was the creation of the reincarnating system of the Panchen Lamas. In 1662, his revered master, *Pan-chen Blo-bzang chos-rgyan* died and the Dalai Lama immediately composed a prayer urging his master to incarnate. He gave orders that the prayer be recited in general assembly of monks of the great monasteries. In 1667, under his own supervision, a boy of the family *Bru*, one of the five old and sacred Bonpo families in Tsang,[11] was recognized as the incarnation of the master.[12] In the same year, the boy was enthroned in *rGyal-mtshan mthon-po*, the palace of the abbots of Tashilhunpo, as the Second Panchen Lama, with the name *Blo-bzang ye-shes* (1663–1737) given by the Dalai Lama himself. Although several lamas of the Panchen line were spiritually eminent and erudite, in later centuries they became not only a cause of discord among the *dGe-lugs-pas* themselves but also an object of political manipulation by foreign powers which often created difficulties for them in maintaining their earlier spiritual relationship with the Dalai Lamas.

11 S. G. Karmay, *The Treasury of Good Sayings: A Tibetan History of Bon*, London Oriental Series, Vol. 26, London 1972, 3–13.

12 *Dukula*, Vol. I, f. 315a6; Vol. II, f. 49b3. The Fifth Panchen Lama *bsTan-pa'i dbang-phyug* (1855–81) was also born in this family.

While the Dalai Lama was engaged in his religious affairs, the government was handled by a succession of Regents. The Dalai Lama assumed the actual running of the government for only two short

periods which were from 1658 to 1664 and in 1669. He died in 1682 at the age of sixty-five in his private apartment in the Potala, but his death was officially announced only in 1697 when the Sixth Dalai Lama, *Tshangs-dbyangs rgya-mtsho* (1683–1706) was already fourteen years of ago. The Regent *Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho* kept the death a secret and governed the country in the Dalai Lama's name for fourteen years.

The reign of the Dalai Lama was one of the more splendid periods of Tibetan history. It marked the reunification of almost the whole of Tibet under one sovereign leader for the first time since the collapse of royal authority in the ninth century A.D. and the restoration of peace and prosperity in the country which had recently been so ravaged by sectarian and political strife. He left his imprint in many spheres of Tibetan culture, especially in religion, literature, philosophy, architecture, painting and indeed in civil administration. Most Buddhist sects were left to their own affairs including the Karmapa Lamas. However, the *Jo-nang-pa*, partly due to *Tāranātha*'s involvement with the King of Tsang and also partly due to their doctrinal differences, suffered banishment from Central Tibet and the closing of their monasteries there. In certain regions, the Bonpos, the followers of the Bon religion, were also, probably through the recklessness of the king of *Be-ri*, faced with the forced conversion of their monasteries into *dGe-lugs-pa* ones, but the Dalai Lama himself was by no means doctrinally hostile to Bonpos. On the contrary, if ever there was a Tibetan leader who was eclectic in his approach to religious questions, it was certainly he.

One of the Dalai Lama's most remarkable achievements remains with us in his writing. In this he shows a profound mastery of the language with a free style which allowed him to express his personal feelings with a most striking frankness, sarcasm, humour and above all a mockery of his position and often that of the *dGe-lugs-pa* sect as well. Not only had he a sharp intelligence and an open spirit but also great acumen in summing up a complicated situation. The three-volume autobiography which records his daily life in the seventeenth-century setting is a testimony to these qualities. He was deservedly accorded the rare epithet, *lNga-pa chen-po*, the Great Fifth, outstanding statesman that he was. Although throughout his life he had to deal with worldly affairs, he never wavered from his vows of monastic celibacy. Within this formidable personality, however, there was another dimension which was perhaps his real character and which craved for rituals, magic and mysticism. As we shall now see, his earthly existence was bathed in an ocean of mystic and theophanic visions.

THE SECRET BIOGRAPHY AND THE GOLD MANUSCRIPT

We do not propose here to study in depth either the life of the Fifth Dalai Lama or seventeenth-century Tibetan political and religious history. On these topics many scholars, Luciano Petech, Zahiruddin Ahmad, Ariane MacDonald and others have already done tremendous work. What we do propose here is to look first briefly into the relatively little known work by the Dalai Lama: the volume of the *Sealed and Secret Biography* (*gSang-ba'i rnam-thar rgya-can*) which from now on we call the *rGya-can* and then particularly at the Gold Manuscript which contains among other works an important text entitled *Visions and their Significance* (*mThong-ba don-ldan*). We have the greatest pleasure in bringing to light for the first time this last work, the existence of which, it may be pointed out, has been totally unknown to Tibetologists, or to anyone else for that matter, until the present day.

The *rGya-can* is primarily about the visionary experiences (*'khrul-snang, gzigs-snang*) recounted in what is traditionally known as the secret biography (*gSang-ba'i rnam-thar*). Many of the great Buddhist teachers wrote such accounts before the Dalai Lama, even among the *dGe-lugs-pas*. One of the best examples of this is the vision of *mKhas-grub dGe-legs dpal-bzang* (1385–1438) of his master, *Tsong-kha-pa*, known as 'The five-fold Visions of the Lord' (*rJe gzigs-pa lnga-ldan*) experienced after his master's death. This particular vision is a very popular theme for painting among the *dGe-lugs-pas*. The difference between the *rGya-can* and the earlier examples consists on its size and the prophecies it contains. It has twenty-five main sections, each of them bearing a title in one stanza ending in an expression: 'sealed with symbols of the wheel, jewel, sword', etc. The Dalai Lama therefore did not write this work for the general reader, for it is about paranormal, spiritual and visionary experiences, and orthodox Buddhists generally do not approve of such claims. Consequently the volume of the *rGya-can* is never included among his collected works and is left out altogether even from inventories of his writings. It was never carved on printing-blocks, whereas most of his other works appeared in print during his own lifetime. Quite a number of his works were widely used

and became famous, especially those on philosophy, meditation, poetry and history. His writings on Buddhist philosophy, especially, became the manuals for several monasteries. His autobiography is used as one of the best sources for the social, religious and political history of the seventeenth century in Tibet by both Tibetan and Western scholars. On the other hand, the *rGya-can* has always remained in its manuscript form and was read by a small and exclusive circle so that its authenticity has sometimes been doubted, without justification.

Only two manuscript copies of the work are known to exist outside Tibet: one in the Hemis monastery in Ladakh and one in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. That in the Hemis monastery was published in Leh in 1974.[13] The manuscript copy in Paris is described in a short passage by Ariane Macdonald in a catalogue of an exhibition of Tibetan art.[14] She states that this manuscript is older than the one in Hemis and dates back either to the end of the seventeenth century or to the beginning of the eighteenth century.

13 *A record of the visionary experiences of the Fifth Dalai Lama Nag-dbaṅ-blo-bzaṅ-rgya-mtsho, Smanrtsis shesrig spendzod*, Vol. 42, Leh 1974.

14 *Dieux et démons de l'Himalaya*, Paris 1977, No. 345.

Already at the age of six, the Dalai Lama began to have visionary experiences and they continued to occur periodically throughout his life except for a long period between the age of forty-seven and fifty-six. The recording of the experiences continued until about the first two months of 1681 when he was sixty-four, just before the year in which he died. The redaction of the first section of the *rGya-can* took place in 1663, but the composition of the remaining sections is not dated. As the visionary experiences occurred periodically, the redaction of the remaining sections cannot be ascribed to any one particular year.

Here are the headings of the main sections of the *rGya-can* according to the Hemis manuscript.

1. Ka	*'Khor-lo'i*	*rgya-can*	14. Pha	*Rigs-gsum*	"
2. Kha	*lDe-mig*	"	15. Ba	*Yid-bzhin*	"
3. Ga	*sNying-gi*	"	16. Ma	*Thog-mda'i*	"
4. Nga	*rDo-rje'i*	"	17. Tsa	*Me-long*	"
5. Ca	*Bum-pa'i*	"	18. Tsha	*rTa-zhal*	"
6. Cha	*Nor-bu'i*	"	19. Dza	*dPal-be'i*	"
7. Ja	*Ral-gri'i*	"	20. Va	*Shva-na'i*	"
8. Nya	*Nyi-zlai'i*	"	21. Zha	*Pad-dkar*	"
9. Ta	*Kilaya'i*	"	22. Za	*gDugs-dkar*	"
10. Tha	*sDig-pa'i*	"	23. 'A	*Chos-dung*	"
11. Da	*Gri-khug thod-khrag*	"	24. Ya	*gSer-nya'i*	"
12. Na	*Dhu-ti'i*	"	25. Ra	*rGyal-mtshan*	"
13. Pa	*Nyi-zla kha-sbyor*	"			

The Gold Manuscript

The Gold Manuscript contains sixteen texts consisting of 184 folios with nineteen introductory miniatures and five groups of illustrations, mostly of ritual instruments, but also *maṇḍalas, cakras* and *liṅgas* with a total of 886 separate drawings on sixty-one leaves. The folio of the manuscript measures 29 × 6 cm and is calligraphed in gold

on a charcoal black background in the *dbu-med* type of script known as *'bru-ma*. Each folio has five lines except two folios at the beginning of each text which have only four lines. The titles of the illustrations and inscriptions therein are written in the *'khyugs* script whereas *mantras* are in *dbu-can*, the printed characters. The paper is very brittle and all the folios seem to be single sheets except those of Text II which are made of two sheets of paper stuck together, therefore thicker than other folios and also slightly wider and longer than the rest of the volume.

Text I, f. 1a–107a.

This is entitled *Visions and their Significance, being an elucidation of the visions recorded in the sealed volume*. However, this text is, in fact, a summary of the sections from *Ka* to *Tsa* of the *rGya-can*. The section *Ta* is only referred to while the sections *Tsha*, *Dza* and *Va* are summarized in Text II which we will deal with shortly. The reason for not summarizing the sections from *Tsha* onwards in Text I is that the work was completed in the first half of 1673. In other words, the remaining sections record the visions that occurred after that year.

Two reasons are given for summarizing these earlier sections. Firstly, it was written for all those who wished to do drawings and paintings of heavens and deities according to the Dalai Lama's visionary experiences, and the descriptions of them given in these sections of the *rGya-can* were too long and the language was too difficult for artists to understand. Secondly, the visionary experiences described in those sections were not always in chronological order, and the Dalai Lama felt that it was necessary to put them into the right sequence.

Four historical personages are mentioned in the colophon of which we have made a translation below. They are *Blo-bzang yon-tan*, the choir-master (*dbu-mdzad*), *Ngag-dbang shes-rab*, the chief sacristan (*mchod-dpon*), *'Jam-dbyangs grags-pa*, the secretary (*yi-ge-pa*) and *A-gur* of *gZhis-ka shar-pa*, the Tantrist (*sngags-'chang*). These are mentioned as the *bskul-pa-po*, those who urged the Dalai Lama to write the work.[15] Apart from *A-gur* whose personal name was *Guru rta-mgrin* all the others were very close attendants of the Dalai Lama living in his private apartment in the Potala Palace. They were involved with him right up to the time of his death. These three and his personal physician *Dar-mo Blo-bzang chos-grags* were the close collaborators of the Regent *Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho* in maintaining the secret of the Dalai Lama's death until the next reincarnation came of age and was installed in the Potala.[16]

We know very little indeed about the choir-master, although he is often mentioned in the autobiography, always in the same role. He was a very learned person especially in chanting and ritual dance. He died in 1685. The chief sacristan, on the other hand, is known to scholars in connection with a portrait of the Dalai Lama. His predecessor climbed to the position of the *sDe-srid* which shows the importance of the post held by the chief sacristan.

15 See p. 16.

16 *Dukula*, Vol. IV, f. 219a3.

'Jam-dbyangs grags-pa was himself a very learned monk and in his capacity as private secretary would often act as scribe, that is, the one who took down on the *samṭa* the Dalai Lama's dictation or who copied the text written on the *samṭa* by the Dalai Lama himself.

The *samṭa*, often known under the honorific term *bka'-sam*, are small wooden planks varying in size, but normally about 35 × 15 cm with a recessed black writing surface. There can be several planks in one bunch. They are thinly oiled so that when one plank is drawn through a heap of ash, the dust of the ash adheres to the oil enabling the user to write on it with a wooden pen. This was one of the ways of saving ink and paper, but it ran the risk of effacement very rapidly.

'Jam-dbyangs grags-pa therefore occupied one of the most privileged positions among the private official attendants. Elsewhere the Dalai Lama stated that this monk was an adept of the *rDzogs-chen* philosophy. He took an active part, with the Regent, in building the Red Palace of the Potala, the tomb of the Dalai Lama, and in establishing the commemoration day of the latter's death. We find him still active in 1695. It was this monk who acted as the scribe when the Dalai Lama wrote the *Visions and their Significance*, that is, Text I. The function of the scribe (*yi-ge-pa*) is in fact a kind of 'editorial assistant'. His work was not simply 'copying' as the word *yi-ge-pa* might suggest. He had an active part in editing texts, especially in the Dalai Lama's later works. It is known that it was also this monk who edited the last parts of the third volume of the autobiography based on the notes left by the Dalai Lama himself.

Text I seems to have been written first on the *samṭa* by this scribe. It was then copied on paper by another monk named *gNas-btsun 'Jam-dbyangs bstan-'dzin*. This monk is the person designated by the phrase *yi-ge'i 'du-byed-pa* in the same colophon, that is, the one who executed the Gold Manuscript based on the first copy which he himself made directly from the *samṭa*. That is why at the end of Text I, it is termed *gnyis-zhus*, 'copied twice' (f. 107a). The word *yi-ge-pa*, 'editorial assistant' must be distinguished from the phrase *yi-ge'i 'du-byed-pa* which simply means calligrapher.

Guru rta-mgrin, who is described as a *sngags-'chang*, 'tantrist' (married man of religion), is the person designated in the colophon by the term *ri-mo-ba*, 'draughtsman' or 'artist'. It is further stated that while the calligrapher was at work *Guru rta-mgrin* occupied himself with the drawings of *zhing-bkod*, that is, the illustrations in the manuscript. The word *zhing-bkod* is an abbreviation of *zhing-khams-kyi bkod-pa*, which means literally 'the pattern of the heaven'. It applies primarily to the painting of the heavens, but in the present context it is also applied to drawings of *maṇḍalas* and ritual instruments which are a part of the visionary heavens. It is therefore unquestionably this artist who drew the magnificent illustrations in the manuscript. He is also mentioned several times in the autobiography together with his son (who was also an artist) and always within the context of an artistic work.[17]

17 *ibid.*, Vol. I, f. 108b6, 286a3; Vol. II, f. 152a4, 153a5, 164b4; Vol. III, f. 245a, 246a3.

Thirteen thangkas depicting the visions of the Fifth Dalai Lama according to the *rGya-can* and a number of others depicting his life according to his autobiography were painted during his lifetime.[18] The Regent *Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho* stated that he had twenty-three thangkas painted in accordance with the visions recorded in the *rGya-can* not long after the death of the Dalai Lama. These were completed in 1686 and another set of twenty-three thangkas of the same subject was finished in 1688. However, it is not known whether the above-mentioned artists were involved in the execution of these paintings, although they are now known to have survived to the present day.[19]

18 *ibid.*, Vol. III, f. 128a6.

19 *ibid.*, Vol. IV, f. 245a6, 246a3.

It must be clearly stated that the colophon under discussion does not explicitly mention the Gold Manuscript itself. The Tibetan word for this is *gser-bris*. Nor is the title *Visions and their Significance* (*mThong-ba don-ldan*) attested anywhere in the works so far consulted. This seems to suggest that only two copies of this particular work existed: the one copied on the paper directly from the *samṭa* and the Gold Manuscript itself. On the other hand, drawings identical to the ones in the Gold Manuscript depicting various ritual instruments, *liṅgas* and *maṇḍalas* are not entirely unknown. Such a collection of drawings found its way to the Musée Guimet in Paris from Tibet. A certain number of drawings from this collection have already been published by several scholars.[20] However, no one has identified them, explained their purpose or traced their sources. Although these drawings are somewhat crude and in many ways much simplified in comparison with those in the Gold Manuscript, they are certainly copies from a work similar to those in the Gold Manuscript since the titles of the rituals involved and the inscriptions identifying the ritual articles are exactly the same.

20 G. Bèguin, *Les mandala himalayens du Musée Guimet*, Paris 1981, 61.

As to the date of execution of the Gold Manuscript, the colophon of Text I stated that the Dalai Lama himself checked the text against the illustrations, but again without making explicit reference to the Gold Manuscript itself and its illustrations.[21] However, there is hardly any doubt that, except for Text II, they were executed after 1674 (since the writing of the work was completed in 1673) and probably before 1681 if the Gold Manuscript is the work he checked. From about the middle of 1681 the Dalai Lama's writing activities were completely halted by his illnesses.

21 See p. 65.

Text II, f. 1a–26a.

This work is entitled *Seizure of the Pride of Illusions*. According to the colophon of this work, it is a supplementary work to the sections *Tsha*, *Dza* and *Va* of the *rGya-can*. These sections, as mentioned earlier, were not yet written when Text I was completed. Its structure is the same as that of Text I and it contains summaries of the sections just mentioned. However, the colophon makes a contradictory statement. It says that it was written in 1693 (*chu-bya*, f. 26a).[22] As is well known, the Dalai Lama died in 1682. It therefore cannot have been written in 1693 by the Dalai Lama himself. The other odd feature

22 See pp. 67–68.

of the colophon is that it does not carry the Dalai Lama's name, nor is any other name given for the author. On the other hand, the scribe is mentioned. He is *'Jam-dbyangs grags-pa* whom we have already met in the colophon of Text I where he has the same role. Nevertheless, the work was either written or dictated by the Dalai Lama himself, for the visionary events recorded in the text took place in 1673 and 1680. Furthermore, the rituals, which are described in the work and which were performed in 1680, clearly point to the fact that the Dalai Lama was not at all well during that year and indeed he died a little over one year later. It is therefore quite possible that he died without being able to provide a colophon for his last work. We may therefore conclude that it was *'Jam-dbyangs grags-pa*, the 'editorial assistant', who actually wrote the colophon in 1693 on behalf of his master, and it is also probable that he even prepared certain parts of the work using notes left by the Dalai Lama. However, the manuscript of this text, which is in gold like the rest of the works in the volume, is executed by the same hand as that of Text I. There is another factor which must be taken into account concerning the odd character of this work. As stated above, its folios are slightly thicker and longer than other texts in the volume and it is found placed at the end of the Gold Manuscript instead of after Text I where it would more obviously occur. This further suggests that it was completed at a later date and that its execution in gold script was also done after the other parts of the manuscript. We have placed it after Text I both in the Summary that follows and in the reproduction of the manuscript pages by reason of the sequence of the visionary experiences and also for the reader's own convenience.

There are no texts which contain summaries of the last five sections of the *rGya-can*. These sections are devoted to the record of the visions that occurred from 1674 to 1680 and the first few months of 1681. The reason for their omission in the Gold Manuscript is that the Dalai Lama was still continuing to record his visions in detail during these years as a part of the *rGya-can* itself.

None of the remaining texts in the Gold Manuscript have colophons except Text III, the colophon of which mentions the name of *Za-hor-gyi ban-de*, the monk of Za-hor; a name which the Fifth Dalai Lama commonly used and which appears also in the colophon of Text I.

As for the titles, contents, and number of folios of Texts III–XVI, the reader is referred to the chapter of the summaries[23] and to the manuscript itself.[23]

23 See pp. 68–70.

THE STYLE AND ARTISTIC CONTEXT

Heather Stoddard

Leafing slowly through the diptych and triptych panels of the illustrations, the reader is struck by a pervading atmosphere of 'tremendum'.[1] An immediate sensation of intrusion into a secret universe arises. Mental projections, transcribed into complex and tangible symbols, appear, suspended, revolving in a charcoal black void, destined for inner eyes and for the manipulation of the powerful forces of the human psyche. On a more rational level, one becomes convincingly aware of an ancient ritual tradition. Questions arise as to processes of 'sedimentation',[2] of the overlapping of currents and epoques, combined here before our eyes into a sophisticated and elaborate whole. From the ordered harmony of the ritual offerings, we turn to the *rDo-rje gro-lod* section on 'liberation', where agonizingly realistic *liṅga* start from the page in disquieting torment.

1 G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, Rome 1949, 323.

2 See K. Schipper, *Le Corps Taoiste*, Fayard, Paris 1982, ch. V, Le Rituel.

Awed at being so close to the person of the Great Fifth, at perusing the structured imagery of rituals he visualized, understood and performed in the minutest detail, trying to grasp at the oblique references to the world of his secret visionary experience, we hesitate, the uninitiated, to profane the fantastic imagery of the tantric ritual world; just as we are baffled at the proliferation of paraphernalia destined to control the forces of human pain and passion and evil. We stand a little as twentieth-century laymen, fascinated by the three-dimensional creations of physicists and biochemists, presenting, by inference, the submicroscopic universe in concrete multicoloured apparitions of insubstantia.

Yet it is the Dalai Lama himself who leads us on. The *mThong-ba don-ldan*, checked by him, was specifically created, sometime between 1674 and 1681, from the *rGya-can*, in simplified language with illustrations for the artists: 'for all those who wish to do drawings and paintings of the heavens and the deities according to the Dalai Lama's visionary experiences'.[3]

3 See above p. 28.

Very few secret biographies of Tibetan masters are known to the outside world. From written accounts concerning them, this one conforms precisely to the category. It is in manuscript form and would not have been published in xylograph. It relates the inner life of the master: his visions and mystical revelations. Yet the Gold Manuscript stands alone as the only illustrated secret biography known to exist.

Furthermore, it is undoubtedly an original, contemporary with the author, who was, as has often been said, one of the greatest men in Tibetan history.

In the context of ritual drawings, it is also unique. No earlier collections of tantric ritual illustration are known. An incomplete and somewhat sketchy copy of images found in the Gold Manuscript, kept in the Musée Guimet in Paris, is the only other text that we know of. The six published diptychs of this copy correspond almost exactly to the different sections in five groups of the original, although with a somewhat different association of images, and a greater concentration of elements on each page.[4] This copy lacks both the first and last folios and we have no knowledge as to its origin, date or the circumstances of its execution.

Other illustrated technical manuals—aids to study, or to the performance of rituals are known, such as a manual for the construction of sacrificial cakes, *gtor-ma*, of the *rNying-ma-pa* tradition.[5] Dozens of examples for use in different rituals are given in detailed outline. Collections of drawings of ritual charms, *cakra*, have also been made, many recalling those found in the Gold Manuscript, but these have been published in the twentieth century, by western authors.[6]

Another important source of comparison is in the art of the medical thangkas used in Lhasa in the Medical Schools of *lCags-po-ri* and *sMan-rtsis-khang*. A superbly beautiful collection of seventy-nine paintings dates back to the founding of the *lCags-po-ri* at the time of the Great Fifth by his regent. The originals were being painted in 1688 and are thus contemporary with the Gold Manuscript.[7] Here again, although the subject matter is quite different, and the examples that exist are probably very close twentieth-century copies,[8] a certain similarity is undeniably present in the elegantly arranged series of ingredients, displayed in double perspective in fine bowls and dishes. Various animals, instruments, weapons and even ritual objects are represented, although classified, as befits medical analysis, in a much more orderly way than the subjects of the Fifth Dalai Lama's dreams. Every now and then, however, there escapes from some medical concoction, a curl of steam, recalling the fine silvery whirls of smoke in the Gold Manuscript.

The outstanding quality of both collections of illustrations bears witness to the refined sophistication of the court of the Tibetan pontiff in the second half of the seventeenth century. In her article 'Un portrait du Cinquième Dalai Lama',[9] Mme. A. Macdonald shows that a number of portraits of all sizes for different people on particular occasions were made during his lifetime. At the same time she gives a clear idea of the atmosphere in the 'Private Household' both before and after the pontiff's death. The activities of creating statues and paintings and their ritual use, within the context of the lama-disciple relationship, are intimately linked, as the article so eruditely shows, as well as in the refurbishing of monasteries and state rituals. One of the closest members of his entourage, the 'Master of Ceremonies',

4 G. Béguin, *Les maṇḍala himalayens du Musée Guimet*, Paris 1981, nos. 40–45, 'Aires sacrificielles'. The original manuscript, E.G.1656, Rituel Enluminé, contains 32 diptych and triptych illustrations, with explicative notices in *dbu-med* Tibetan on each one, giving the source in the *rGya-can*, and the function of the ritual.

5 *Byang-gter sgrub-skor rnam-gsum / phur-pa / bKa'-brgyad khro-rol / tshe-bdag / skang-gso / lha-bsangs sogs-kyi gtor-dpe /*

6 For example, T. Skorupski, *Tibetan Amulets*, Bangkok 1983.

7 I thank F. Meyer of Paris for the following information: in 1688, in the colophon of the *Vāiḍūrya sngon-po* by *sDe-srid Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho*, it is stated that the 79 thangkas were in progress though not yet complete. In 1703 the whole set is mentioned.

8 One complete edition has recently been published in Tibet, *Bod-lugs gso-rig rgyud-bzhi'i nang-don bris-cha ngo-mtshar mthong-ba don ldan*, People's Publishing House, Lhasa, 1986. Another edition is under way in the Soviet Union.

9 In *Essais sur l'Art du Tibet*, Paris 1977, 119–56.

mChod-dpon Ngag-dbang shes-rab, was "officially charged with the organization of offerings, especially the three symbolic offerings of the three aspects of the Buddha: Statues and paintings representing the 'Body' of gods and saints, Texts, supports of the 'Word', and *mchod-rten, stûpa*, supports of the 'Mind'. Such offerings were presented in the name of the Dalai Lama to the great monasteries of Tibet. The 'Master of Ceremonies' was of such importance that he never left the Dalai Lama's side, except in the execution of his duties, and he is often mentioned in the volumes of the *Tham-phud*, which contain the dedicatory writings by the Dalai Lama on the occasion of the offering of such and such a 'support'.[10] For example, in 1678, *Ngag-dbang shes-rab* 'had sculptures made and thangkas painted, as well as other objects of religious art, for the temple of *Khra-'brug*, one of the first of Tibet, founded, according to tradition, in the seventh century.' "[11]

Another artist in the court is mentioned by Mme. Macdonald as having received a command from the Dalai Lama, just before his death, to paint a thangka. *Lo-chen Dharma-sri* (1654–1717) of course accepted. He was the younger brother of the 'treasure finder' *gTer-bdag gling-pa* (1646–1714), founder of the famous *rNying-ma-pa* monastery of *sMin-grol-gling*, and close disciple-cum-master of the Dalai Lama. *gTer-bdag gling-pa* in turn offered a last service for the pontiff, performing rites for him in the Potala on the 24th day of the 8th month of 1681, a little before his passing away, and on the following day consecrated a large number of paintings and statues of tutelary divinities in the private apartments of the Dalai Lama.[12]

If we know of no antecedents to the *mThong-ba don-ldan*, we must impute their existence. Whether we consider the manuscript to be a precise manual of ritual practice, or a work of art—and it is certainly both of these, neither could appear at such a pinnacle of perfection, without a long period of elaboration and distillation. In trying to trace its genesis, within the context of Tibetan painting, it seems we should follow three guidelines:

Illuminated Manuscripts

The Nepalese manuscripts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which had such far-reaching effects on Tibetan art during the early period of the Second Diffusion of Buddhism in Tibet, contain already in prototype form an essential stylistic feature of the *mThong-ba don-ldan*: gold and silver calligraphy against a black background, illuminated with rectangular inset scenes of the life of the Buddha, of Bodhisattvas, and protecting deities, rather than human teachers.[13] Indeed, the earliest dated Tibetan manuscript is of this type, being a *Prajñāparamitā* text calligraphed in gold, against a black background with inset illustrations. It has been radio-carbon dated to 1195 A.D.[14] On the painted book covers of this period we also find in prototype, representations of ritual offerings which are later to be associated essentially with the benefactors who ordered the execution of a work, but which also closely resemble the symbolic offerings on *maṇḍala*.[15]

10 *ibid.*, 132–33.

11 *ibid.*, 133.

12 *ibid.*, 145–46.

13 See *Buddhism. Art and Faith*, ed. W. Zwalf, BMP 1985, pl. 173–75.

14 *The Newark Museum. Tibetan Collection III. Sculpture and Paintings*, V. Reynolds, A. Heller, J. Gyatsho, pl. 7, and p. 139–41.

15 W. Zwalf, *op. cit.*, pl. 167, 172–75.

Maṇḍala

To go back to a still earlier example or hypothetical model, we may look amongst the Tibetan drawings and paintings from Dunhuang, from the ninth and tenth centuries. Amongst them is an unfinished plan of a *maṇḍala*, in which the attributes alone, symbolizing the divinities, are shown.[16] Drawn in a free and rapid hand, it is perhaps the earliest known example from the Tibetan Buddhist world. Such attribute *maṇḍala* are comparatively rare, however, for Tibetans apparently preferred a complete visualization of the form of the divinity. There are however, present on almost every major *maṇḍala* of the Tibetan tradition, traced in fine silhouette outline, the emblems of the universal monarch and the eight auspicious symbols.[17] These are displayed in the inner section on the square ramparts of the city of the *cakravartin*, and we would suggest that they are probable model-types for the Gold Manuscript drawings. The superb fifteenth-century *maṇḍalas* of the *Sa-skya-pa* school are exquisite examples.[18]

16 D. E. Klimburg-Salter, *The Silk Route and the Diamond Path*, UCLA 1982, 173, diagram for *maṇḍala* of Uṣṇīṣavijāyā, 9–10th cent.

17 *rGyal-srid sna-bdun* and *bKra-shis rtags-brgyad*. See also Tucci, *op. cit.*, 318–20.

18 See P. Pal, *Tibetan Paintings*, Basel 1984, pl. 29–34.

Black Thangkas (*gSer-thang* or *nag-thang*)

Dr. Pal, in his recently published survey, *Tibetan Paintings*,[19] agrees with Tucci that the famous 'black thangkas' date back no further than the eighteenth century.[20] It is certain that the taste for these awesome evocations of the terrible tantric protectors of the Dharma developed widely in the eighteenth century in Tibet. If this is so, the Gold Manuscript stands as one of the earliest manifestations of the 'black thangka' type of representation, being identical both in style and technique. A powerful image is simply created using a fine gold outline against a black background, with the addition of highlights, principally of green, blue and red which bring to life flames, forms and movement.

How did the Tibetan artists arrive at this apparently simple technique? In *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, Tucci speaks in general terms, with reference to the thangkas of the *mGon-khang*, and affirms: 'In the most ancient, of the Guge school, the dark blue or black figures of monstrous deities emerge from the dark red background; in the most recent ones these roles are reversed: on the black background the figures stand out surrounded by vivid gleams of flame. In some of them, as for instance in the magnificent specimen (n. 170) representing *dPal-ldan lha-mo*, we must almost guess at the presence of the goddess from the vivid red of her eyes, mouth and hands and from the flames surrounding her; she suddenly springs out of the awful darkness of cosmic night, all aflame'.[21]

19 *ibid.*

20 *ibid.*, 159–60.

21 Tucci, *op. cit.*, 320–25.

We cannot quite agree with Tucci, when we look back to earlier centuries, but rather observe a gradual dispersion in the density of the enveloping red aura, until only the tips of flames flicker pale red and gold. The divinity remains throughout dark as the cosmos. Like the fine tracery that forms the background to many early *maṇḍala*, and which develops in the fifteenth century into robust lacy patterns set against a darker sky of blue or black, the lines of the red aura gradually take on life and movement, whilst simultaneously becoming finer and

finer, until they almost disappear.

Although the black thangka strikes by its powerful imagery, and is of course most relevant here, the use of varied monochrome backgrounds to highlight the forms and details of divinities can be traced back a long way, even to the banners of Dunhuang.[22] Pal suggests that the idea of the *gser-thang* may have come from Eastern Tibet, where the artists could have been inspired by the black and gold frontispieces of Chinese sūtra texts.[23] On the other hand we have already remarked the existence of early Nepalese manuscripts, prototypes of the black manuscripts so widely famed in the Tibetan world. This does not preclude interaction with the Chinese tradition. There exist numbers of *gser-thang*, many of a period earlier than the Gold Manuscript, with red, orange, gold and even grey backgrounds.[24] In the case of a gold base, the outline is in contrasting red or black.[25] We should not discount either the possibility of influence from the appliqué and embroidered thangkas, such as the thirteenth-century *Avalokiteśvara*, (*'sPyan-ras-gzigs sens-nyid ngal-gso'i dkyil-'khor'*), which was the personal 'tutelary deity' (*thugs-dam*) of the great lama *'Phags-pa* (1235–1280). The extremely simple design of this *'maṇḍala'* of *Avalokiteśvara* as a young bodhisattva with the deer skin thrown over his shoulder, is applied to a plain gold brocade background.[26]

Let us take a rapid look at a few examples in Pal's *Tibetan Paintings*, observing, over the centuries, the evolution from heavy red against black or dark blue, to a simple vibrant gold line in the cosmic darkness.

The figures of *Mahākāla* lend themselves particularly well to the style. Firstly (pl. 13), a small almost square thangka of the 'Great Black One', in his four-armed manifestation, with a date of around 1200 A.D.[27] The lithe, robust black figures of the angry protectors stand out clearly in three-dimensional relief against a dense unmoving dark red mandorla, upon which are inscribed in fine volutes the symbolic patterns of fire. It is only in the small surrounding area that we catch incidentally a glimpse of black charnel grounds. Further on (pl. 23), a superbly formed *Hevajra* in *yab-yum* (dated fourteenth-century) uses the same type of balanced powerful contrast between dense red and dense black. Two Bonpo thangkas from Dolpo in Nepal, albeit in provincial style, bring us suddenly much nearer (sixteenth century) to the *gser-thang* and to the Gold Manuscript itself. Indeed they appear as an intermediate style, between the 'black and red' thangkas, and the later *gser-thang*. The flaming mandorlas flicker with long tongues of flame, while whirls of smoke and cloud, pale miniature figures and animals in the charnel grounds, are rendered in simple gold outline. Offerings stand clearly delineated against the black ground, as in the Gold Manuscript.

Yet nearer in time and style is the dancing figure of the Lion-headed *dākiṇī*, *Seng-ge gdong-ma* (pl. 76). The entire ground is black, whilst the clouds, flames, rocks and figures are dramatically coloured in blue, green, red and gold. The outline is gold and it is only one step

22 Klimburg-Salter, *op. cit.*, colour pl. 68.

23 Pal, *op. cit.*, 159.

24 *ibid.*, pl. 114.

25 *Bod kyi thang-ka (Tibetan Thangkas)*, Lhasa 1985, pl. 75, the 4th Panchen Lama (1567–1662), a contemporary portrait of him?

26 *ibid.*, pl. 118.

27 We accept the dates given by Pal as reasonable, though this first one may be a little early. It is essential to recall that a 16th cent. date was attributed to the Tibetan manuscript mentioned in n. 14 above, until it was radio-carbon dated to 1195 A.D.!

further, using the same palette, with a much lighter touch, to the eighteenth-century 'black thangkas' or the Gold Manuscript itself.

We must, lastly, mention the genre of 'Offering thangkas', *rgyan-tshogs*, magnificently represented on pl. 79 of Pal's book, where a richly gilded *Mahākāla* stands angrily present (this is unusual) in the midst of his attendant creatures and surrounded on three sides by superbly organized ritual offerings. This brings us closest of all to the imagery of the Gold Manuscript. Normally, the terrible manifestation of the deity is but evoked. He or she is absent, whilst the attributes and apparel, weapons and armour, companions and preferred animals, all the accoutrements of his state, are vividly displayed in gold outline against black space.[28] Again, in this genre, we find the same tendency to diminish the density of colour describing the objects, until the style becomes almost entirely linear, with palely glinting shadows of pastel blue, green and red, as transparent highlights. What may be one of the earliest *rgyan-tshogs* type of painting is published by Tucci in *Indo-Tibetica*. It is a wall-painting from the monastery of Samada, whose foundations go back to the eleventh century or earlier.[29] The *rgyan-tshogs* in question is manifestly of later execution. It may belong to the Mongol period, though it is difficult to hazard a guess at the date from a detail. In the same volume of Tucci's major work on Tibetan monasteries, are two other details from the corridor leading to the *mGon-khang* of the *dPal-'khor chos-sde* monastery of *rGyal-rtse*, datable to the early fifteenth century. Charnel ground images stand out against a stark plain background.[30]

To conclude, according to the present state of our observation and knowledge, the Gold Manuscript stands as the earliest dated manifestation of the 'black thangka' genre of painting, and appears as an intermediate style between the genres of manuscript illustration and the *rgyan-tshogs* type of 'black thangka'.

Recently two thangkas have come to light that have a direct relevance to the Gold Manuscript. It is now known that not long after the death of the Fifth Dalai Lama in 1686, his regent, the *sDe-srid Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho* commissioned a set of twenty-three thangkas depicting the Dalai Lama's life and visions until the age of 63, as recorded in the *rGya-can*. Two years later, in 1688, he had another set made, also of twenty-three thangkas.[31] Was the second series a direct copy of the first, and why did he have them duplicated? Who was, or who were the artists? Was *Guru rta-mgrin* involved? Were they painted in a workshop in the Potala? Perhaps they now remain, rolled up, together with what we hope to be hundreds of others that escaped the depredations of the Cultural Revolution, in the storerooms of the Potala?

There is, in fact, very little doubt that the first two of one series are at present on view in the exhibition 'Trésors du Tibet', which has recently opened in the Jardin des Plantes in Paris.[32] The description given in the catalogue tells us little beyond the fact that the central figures depicted are the Fifth Dalai Lama and the *sDe-srid* himself,

28 See: Irène Martin du Gard, 'Peinture d'offrandes à dPal-ldan dmag-zor rgyal-ma', *Arts Asiatiques* XL, 1985, 68–82.

29 An inscription in archaic Tibetan bears witness to this early date: G. Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, Rome 1941, vol. IV.II, 5 and vol. IV.I, 121–23; IV.III, fig. 34–35, text IV.I, 127–32.

30 *ibid.*, IV.III, fig. 81–82.

31 See p. 17 above.

32 *Trésors du Tibet*, Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris 1987, pl. 32 and 34.

and that they come from the Potala collection. The first is lightly worn, whereas the second appears almost brand new. According to *Rig-'dzin rdo-rje*, of the Archaeological Department in the Norbulingka, in Lhasa, there is no doubt that they date from the time of the *sDe-srid*, for the mountings, both in the brocade work and the special top corner furnishings, are to be found only in thangkas made during his reign. The thangka of the Fifth Dalai Lama was taken out ceremonially every year to be displayed, whereas that of the *sDe-srid* remained rolled up in storage, and this explains the difference in wear.

We may wonder for what reason the *sDe-srid* ordered these thangkas, when the *Secret Biography* had, under the direct supervision of the Dalai Lama, already 'illustrated' his visions. It is immediately obvious however that we are being confronted with quite different types of representation. The colours of the thangkas are brilliant, with liberal use of vivid pinks, blues, green and red, found also in the seventeen miniatures of the Gold Manuscript. They are, we may say, esoteric, classical examples of late Gelugpa 'portraits' of the ideal type, according to the *sMan-ri* school of painting, examples of which abound.[33] Vibrant and luminous, even joyful in their ambiguous multiple plane perspective, the central figure seems to be projected into intermediate space from the richly florid mandorla. The gathering of adoring monks and yogins at the foot of the throne of the Fifth Dalai Lama emerges onto a third spatial plane, while the whole central complex nestles, like a rich and fragrant flower, both beyond and behind the charming and detailed narrative scenes that surround it, in which we may trace, in perfect order, fourteen of the visions as recounted in the Gold Manuscript.

The portrait of the *sDe-srid* depicts him as ruler over Tibet, with the host of government officials and dependants at his feet in the '*Khams-gsum zil-gnon*' type of representation.[34] Again, around the time of the *sDe-srid*'s reign in the early eighteenth century, more of the Dalai Lama's visions were painted in the *Klu-khang* behind the Potala.

It has been noted elsewhere that the Gold Manuscript was finished in 1674, consisting of sixteen texts in 184 folios, and that the illustrations were executed between 1674 and 1681 A.D. There are seventeen miniature paintings at the middle or extremities of eight calligraphed folios,[35] plus five groups of illustrations, mostly of ritual instruments and materials, but also including *maṇḍala*, *cakra* and *liṅga*. There are in all 886 separate figures on 61 folios. Each folio measures 29 × 6 cm, and the work is calligraphed in gold against a charcoal black background. The script is in *dbu-med 'bru-ma* style, and the titles and inscriptions on the illustrations are written in cursive *'khyugs* style. The mantras are in *dbu-can*.

Text II is slightly thicker and wider than the others. The rest appear to be done on a sheet of paper of single thickness, whereas in Text II two fine sheets of buff-coloured paper are glued together, and the matt carbon background applied afterwards to cover both sides completely. The drawings are traced in outline, lightly coloured with

33 'The Styles and Stylistic Sources of Tibetan Painting', John Huntington, Ph.D. dissertation, Los Angeles 1968. This is the prevailing style that dominated in Central Tibet up to the twentieth century.

34 I am grateful to Rig-'dzin rdo-rje of the Archaeological Survey in the Norbulinka, Lhasa, who brought the exhibition over to Paris, for explaining the significance of the *Khams-gsum zil-gnon* scene: the exercise of political and religious power in Tibet. Another famous *Khams-gsum zil-gnon* scene is in the 14th Dalai Lama's palace in the Norbulingka, showing his coming to the throne in 1950, and painted by the artist A-mdo Byams-pa. See the cover of R. A. Stein, *La Civilisation tibétaine*, 2nd edition, ed. L'Asiathèque, 1981.

35 See p. 14 above.

blue (azurite?), green (malachite?), red (vermilion?) and silver.

The nineteen miniature illuminations that adorn the text itself relate much more easily both in subject matter and in style to the refined pictorial painting of seventeenth-century Tibet. Especially remarkable amongst the nineteen are *Ye-shes 'tsho-rgyal*, portrayed delicately in what must be contemporary Tibetan laywoman's costume, and *bKra-shis stob-rgyal*, the *rNying-ma-pa* tantric master, *dBang-po-sde* of the manuscript. The miniatures show a wider palette, using orange (minium?), yellow (orpiment?), pink, white, bright red, pale and dark blue, gold and black for the outline.[36]

36 See D. and J. Jackson, *Tibetan Thangka Painting, Methods and Materials*, Serindia, London 1984, ch. 10, 111 ff, ch. 6, 75 ff, on colours and pigments. On p. 86, the author speaks of the rarity of the use of silver paint and its tendency to oxidization.

The diptych and triptych panels are each indicated by their title, and numbered on the outside, 1, 2 or 3 (in one example 4), according to the pages covered by the illustration. Again, on the inside at the foot of the page is indicated the maximum number of panels used (e.g. *gsum-yod*). On the left edge of the folio we find the short title of the work, e.g. *rGya-can-spyi*. The painting appears to have been done separately on each leaf, as may be seen in many examples where the higher levels of the split images do not exactly coincide with the lower levels. This however may be due to warping at different rates and directions, for when flattened under glass they tend to coincide.

The perspective is naïve, using two planes, one from strict profile, the other observing the scene from above: we look into bowls, and see the entire top surface of tables and altars on which are neatly arranged in perfect profile the offerings. There is a natural simplicity in the disposition of the objects, which is entirely in keeping with the Tibetan taste for asymmetry. The detail is refined in the extreme. A peacock feather, a sharply defined flame, a silvery incense whirl, a neat butter flower—all these are as light and delicate as the object itself. The silver is now oxidized to pale grey, but the gold has retained all the beauty of the original finely powdered pure gold application.[37]

37 *ibid.*, 85-86, 102-103, 130.

The rituals are concerned with power; spiritual and political. The Dalai Lama describes not only his sickness and pain and release from them, but also brings into the fabric of the narrative of his visions a series of recurrent themes that trouble and occupy his thoughts. These are interwoven with mystical revelations and prophecies, with the supernatural beings that fill the background. We catch glimpses of his overriding concern for the Tibetan people, of his involvement with the political scene: of coming dangers, conflicts in Eastern Tibet, and events in the surrounding world of China, Mongolia, India, Nepal and Bhutan. We stand in the arena at the dawn of modern Tibetan history. Through all this runs another current: the complex interweaving and overlapping of personalities intimately related, even integrally part of his own: *Srong-bstan sgam-po*, *Padmasambhava*, *Thang-stong rgyal-po*, the oracle of *gNas-chung*. Again and again *Ye-shes 'tsho-rgyal* appears before him, constantly preoccupying his mind, dare we say his love? A crystal-white man also comes repeatedly into his visions: it is himself, *Avalokiteśvara*, manifestation of compassion, protector of the Tibetan people.

SUMMARY OF THE TIBETAN TEXTS

Text I (pp. 176 ff.)

Title: *rGya-can-gyi 'khrul-snang rnams gsal-bar bkod-pa mthong-ba don-ldan //*
Visions and their Significance, being the elucidation of the visions recorded in the Sealed Volume.

177-1-1

These references relate to the Tibetan texts reproduced in negative form on pp. 176–237. Thus *177-1-1* refers to p. 177, folio 1, line 1. The texts are to be read across the double pages from left to right.

The erudite should not read this work, if they do, they will be embarrassed.
It is only for the guidance of fools who revel in fanciful ideas.
Although it tries frankly to avoid pretentiousness, it is nevertheless corrupted with deceit.
By speaking honestly on whatever occurred, this could be taken to be lies.

As if the illusions of *Saṃsāra* were not enough,
This stupid mind of mine is further attracted to ultra-illusory visions.
It is surely mad to say that the image of the Buddha's compassion
Is reflected in the mirror of karmic existence.

Let me now write the following pages,
Though it will disappoint those who are led to believe that the desert-mirage is water,
As well as those who are enchanted by folk-tales,
And those who delight in red clouds in Summer.

177-2-3

I am the one who has been roaming about timelessly in the wheel of existence and so have not been able to practise religion properly; thus wasting the opportunity of this human existence of mine. Either due to the traces of karmic action left over from my previous existence which now re-emerge or to a deception of the Lord of Illusion, I have had various visions which should never have occurred and which ought to be forgotten. But I, being small-minded, talkative and unable to keep my fingers at rest, noted them down filling a small volume which became known as the 'Sealed One'. The prophecies which it contains when noted by people might seem as crazy as 'using a sling in a temple'. The usefulness of the work being insignificant and the risk

that objection could be raised against it being so great, I put it aside and did not include the visionary stories in my autobiography. These stories which sound like mere folk-tales would never stimulate pleasure in the erudite, but in order to guide the uninitiated and for those who wish to do drawings and paintings of the heavens, here let me re-write in an orderly manner the *'Khor-lo'i rgya-can* (i.e. the section *Ka*) which is the main text of the volume *rGya-can* and in which the dates are not in the correct order.

177-4-3 H[1] *Ka, 6. Water-bird year (1622), aged 6*

1 *H* stands for the Hemis manuscript, for reference see note 13 on p. 14 above.

The Fifth Dalai Lama is residing in *E-re sgo-rdzong*. One day he tells his companion, the monk *Ngag-dbang chos-rgyal*, that he has seen *Tsong-kha-pa* above the altar in his chamber. (Here the Dalai Lama states that he cannot remember this vision very clearly, i.e. when he was writing the section *Ka*, and that he writes it here only from what the monk had told him. He thinks that in the vision, *Tsong-kha-pa* must have appeared to him, as he usually does, holding the sword and the sacred volume.)

176-5-2 H Ka, 7. Fire-tiger year (1626), aged 10

The Dalai Lama comes across a text concerning the ritual method for realisation of *Hayagrīva* according to the system of *Ras-chung* (*rDo-rje grags*, 1083–1161) among the books belonging to *Tsha-ba bka'-bcu* (who was an official monk attendant). He becomes interested in it, but *bSod-nams rab-brtan* (the Treasurer, later known by his title *Zhal-ngo*) advises that if he wants to have *Hayagrīva* as his tutelary divinity, it would be wise to consult *Gling-smad Zhabs-drung* (*dKong-mchog chos-'phel*) of the *Blo-gsal-gling* College on the matter. The latter tells him that the text concerning meditation upon *Hayagrīva*, which is to be found among the works of the Second Dalai Lama, is more suitable. He begins to use the recommended text. One day towards the end of autumn, he is unable to find his companion the monk *Ngag-dbang chos-rgyal*. He looks for him on the balcony. At that moment, a gust of wind rises. He is frightened and runs back to his chamber. On the way, he sees (in front of the entrance of the chamber *bDe-ba-can* in the Ganden Palace), the red *Hayagrīva* filling the whole floor. (Here in the *rGya-can*, the Dalai Lama remarks that it must have been because of the red colour of the doors at the entrance of the chamber.)

176-6-2 H Ka, 8

At the age of eight, the Dalai Lama makes a visit to the chapel of *Mahākāla* in the monastery of *Chos-'khor-rgyal*. A scarf falls of its own accord from the image of *Mahākāla*. He then becomes interested in the divinity and learns the ritual text and recites it often. In the 10th month, one evening, he sees a blue Brahman looking like a boy of eight. He holds a bone trumpet in his right hand and a skull-cup (*kapāla*) in the left. The Dalai Lama is frightened and runs to the doors of his chamber *mNgon-dga'* in the Ganden Palace.

177-6-4 H Ka, 10. Water-bird year (1633), aged 17

The Dalai Lama returns from a long visit to *Rva-sgreng* monastery towards the end of autumn. He then enters into a retreat for about six

weeks in the chamber *bDe-ba-can* in the Ganden Palace. He senses that a black figure with a lion head, clad in a dark cloak, but unmounted, keeps appearing behind the curtain which divides the room into two parts. Neither he nor his attendants have any idea what the apparition could be. Later, among a few thangkas, he finds a small painting that reminded him of the apparition, but is still unable to identify it. Again later when he meets *'Jam-dpal rdo-rje*, the paṇḍita of *Zhang-mkhar*, he learns that it is the divinity *Tsa-ri* who is the chief protector of the *'Phyong-rgyas* principality. The divinity pays visits to him since he was born there. Later, he received initiation from his *rNying-ma-pa* teacher *Zur Padma-dbang* (alias *Chos-dbyings rang-grol*).

179-1-4 H Ka, 11. Iron-snake year (1641), aged 25

During the conflict in Tsang towards the end of the 6th month, the Dalai Lama presides over the assembly of the monks of the Namgyal College who perform the rite of the divinity *'Jam-dpal tshe-bdag* in the main hall of the Ganden Palace. The Dalai Lama sees in his vision that a large human head with a macabre face rises in front of the offerings on the altar; it opens its mouth wide, and numerous human heads fall into it like grains into a bag.

The Dalai Lama remarks that this vision is a sign of success concerning the objective of the rite which is the victory of Gushri Khan and his forces over the King of Tsang in 1642.

In the autumn of the same year, the Dalai Lama performs the ceremony of empowerment (*dbang, abhiṣeka*) of *Cittaviśrāmana* (*Sems-nyid ngal-gso*), a form of *Avalokiteśvara*, for his *rNying-ma-pa* teacher, *Zur Padma-dbang* in the chamber *Rab-gsal* at the Ganden Palace. *Zur*, in his vision, sees the Dalai Lama as *Cittaviśrāmana* himself, completely transparent so that he could see the back of the throne. Later *Zur* paints the Bodhisattva according to his own vision.

179-2-3 H Ka, 12. Water-horse year (1642), aged 26

In the evening of New Year's day, some of the official attendants who happened to be in the main hall of the Ganden Palace hear a frightening sound, like a woman's shrill cry in the distance, coming from below the house belonging to the guardian of the willow park (i.e. below the Drepung monastery).

The next day, the Dalai Lama performs the atonement ritual (*bskang-gso*) in honour of the goddess *dPal-ldan lha-mo*. He sees the goddess in his vision, in the form of *Yang-gsang drag-mo* dancing in the sky. *Zur* painted a *tsakali* in accordance with this vision and *Brag-sna chos-rje*, having seen the painting, requests the Dalai Lama to compose a eulogy to the goddess, but the Dalai Lama declines, saying that he does not quite believe in the apparitions.

Towards the end of the second month, the conflict in Tsang reaches a decisive phase. Gushri Khan requests the Dalai Lama to pay a visit to the province. *Zur* gives him amulets intended to protect him from the 'impurities of the broken vows' (*dam-grib*) of the conflict as well as a vase full of water for escaping from maledictions. However, when he returns to Drepung in the summer he becomes ill due to the

'impurities' which he contracted from the King of Tsang and his people against whom he himself had performed a 'violent rite' (*mngon-spyod*). He has a severe cough which prevents him from talking. Some think he was poisoned. At the end of two months' illness, in the early morning of the 28th of the seventh month, he sees in a dream *Rig-'dzin Legs-ldan rdo-rje* (1512–1625) sitting in the chapel of *Mahākāla* in the Ganden Palace. He wears a white cloak and his hair is white about three inches long. Beside him is *Chos-rgyal bKra-shis stobs-rgyal* alias *dBang-po-sde* (1550–1607), also wearing a white robe. On an altar, in front of them, are *gtor-ma* (hereafter *torma*) offerings and other items for the performance of a ceremony. *Legs-ldan rdo-rje* begins to perform the ceremony, but the Dalai Lama is unable to recognize its deity. *dBang-po-sde* then performs the empowerment ceremony of the divinity *Karmaguru* and gives him a ritual dagger (*phur-pa*). At that moment, he feels that the Treasurer *bSod-nams rab-brtan* and other (*dGe-lugs-pa*) monks are looking at him through the window at the eastern side of the chapel of *Mahākāla*, giving the impression that they do not approve of his participating in the ceremony which is performed by the *rNying-ma-pa* lamas. He thinks that if they, the *dGe-lugs-pa* monks, criticize him, he will hit them with the ritual dagger and rushes out, but the monks look very subdued. He then awakes feeling totally recovered from his illnesses.

In the winter of the same year, the Dalai Lama in his vision sees *Rāhula* who is protector of his family and he thinks that this is largely due to the painting of the divinity made and given to him by *Zur*.

178-5-3 H Ka, 15. Water-sheep year (1643), aged 27

In the eleventh month, at *rGyal*, the Dalai Lama withdraws into a retreat for one week, reciting *mantras* of *Vajrakīla* in the morning and making propitiation to *gNyan-chen Thang-lha*. From 1642, Gushri Khan and his senior wife had insistently requested him to pay a visit to Koko-Nor. As this was an invitation difficult to decline, he therefore propitiates *Thang-lha* so that he would not actually have to go to Koko-Nor. One day when he is in the course of invocation to the mountain god he feels a strange fragrance filling the whole room. After four months of the retreat, Gushri Khan, who at the time resides in *Gong-dkar*, changes his mind about the invitation and both the Khan and the Lama are happy about the change.

179-5-3 H Ka, 16. Water-bird year (1645), aged 29

In the autumn of this year, one day, when saying prayers to *Padma-sambhava*, he sees a rainbow, very clear as if it were painted in the sky just above the balcony. The Treasurer *'Phrin-las rgya-mtsho* and *Drung-mtsho* who are with him are also able to see the rainbow. The Dalai Lama remarks that he felt he saw *O-rgyan za-hor-ma* (a particular form of *Padmasambhava*) in the rainbow, but is unable to be certain about it.

178-6-1 H Ka, 16. Fire-dog year (1646), aged 30

The Dalai Lama performs the atonement ritual in honour of *dPal-ldan lha-mo* in the Ganden Palace on New Year's day. In his vision, in the

early morning, the Dalai Lama sees the goddess in her various aspects engaged in the duties that one requests her to undertake, but he is unable to give all the details of the visions since no notes were taken down immediately. On the 5th of the same month, he composes the text concerning the iconography of the goddess.

On the 1st of the sixth month, *Padmasambhava* appears in a vision to the Dalai Lama. He can see all the ritual objects needed for the empowerment ceremony of *dPal-ldan lha-mo* and her attendants, such as *torma* alongside *Padmasambhava* who performs the ceremony.[2] After this, the Dalai Lama begins to perform the rite of the goddess by himself. On the 3rd of the same month, *Padmasambhava* appears and shows him the long *mantra* of the goddess. On the 7th, *Padmasambhava* appears again with the ritual objects such as the *torma* for performing the empowerment ceremony of *Yang-gsang drag-mo*, a particular aspect of the goddess.[3] During this ceremony, the Dalai Lama sees her surrounded by her eight attendants.

2 See Plate 25.

3 See Plate 27 A.

He then performs a rite focusing upon the goddess for his own longevity. He receives the initiation from *Padmasambhava* who appears beside the ritual objects to be used in the empowerment ceremony.[4] When he completes the rite, he sends the 'life water' (*tshe-chu*) and 'life-pills' (*tshe-ril*) used in the ritual to his teacher *Zur* as a token of benediction. He writes to *Zur* about his experiences which occurred during the retreat. *Zur* gives an interpretation of the Dalai Lama's experiences and writes to him about his own dreams. In one of *Zur*'s dreams, he finds himself sitting in front of the Dalai Lama and the latter says to him: 'I am going to China. You must accompany me.' The Dalai Lama comments on this dream in the following words: 'At this time, I did not have any intention of going to China. It was a prophecy.' (The journey to China took place in 1652, seven years later.)

4 See Plate 26 B.

On the 25th of the same month, *Zur* makes a sketch of the goddess, intending to paint a thangka. In a dream, during the night, a woman wearing a white dress brings two vases full of 'life-water' and says: 'Give one of these to the Dalai Lama. If he does not accept it, there is a danger concerning his life this year.' *Zur* writes to the Dalai Lama urging him to perform the rite of longevity (*tshe-sgrub*).

180-3-2 H Ka, 20. Fire-pig year (1647), aged 31

On the 8th day of the third month, the Dalai Lama participates in the great propitiations of *Mahākāla* in the main hall of the Ganden Palace. When the chanting of the prayer to *Avalokiteśvara* begins, the Dalai Lama enters into a deep meditation which prevents him from sounding the bell which he is expected to continue doing. During this meditation, he feels a white cloud suddenly emerge: from behind it the *Sa-skya-pa* master *Tshar-chen Blo-gsal rgya-mtsho* (1502–67) appears with a pale but slightly brown complexion and bearded. He smiles, holding a five-pointed *vajra* in his right hand and a bell in his left. On his right, a man who looks like a Brahman sits holding a bone trumpet. *Tshar-chen*, putting a *torma* on the Dalai Lama's head and sounding

the bell, entrusts to him the care of the doctrine of the Oral Tradition (i.e. according to the *Tshar-chen* tradition), at the same time reminding his religious protectors of the oath that they had taken to protect the Oral Tradition.

Later the Dalai Lama feels very pleased on account of the experience and remarks that the only lama of the tradition at the time was *mGon-po bsod-nams mchog-ldan* (1603–59) and he was under house-arrest at *Zha-lu*. Therefore, there was little chance of obtaining the teaching of the Oral Tradition from anybody else. However, as the governor *bKra-shis rtse-pa* of Yarlung died that year, his people asked for permission to release the Lama so that he could perform the funeral service and so the Lama was released.

180-4-2 H Ka, 22. Earth-mouse year (1648), aged 32

Zur volunteers to go to *bKra-shis-rtse* in Yarlung in order to obtain certain teachings of the thirteen 'Gold Doctrines' (*gser-chos*) belonging to the Oral Tradition from *mGon-po bsod-nams mchog-ldan*. The Dalai Lama then requests him to obtain other parts of the thirteen doctrines as well. In the second month, *Zur* returns to the Ganden Palace and transmits to the Dalai Lama all the teachings he has obtained.

The Dalai Lama remarks that from now on he began to have some confidence in his own vision of the Lama *Tshar-chen* which he had had in the previous year.

During the autumn and winter, *Zur* stays in the Ganden Palace offering instructions to the Dalai Lama in the 'Gold Doctrines' and rites of *Mahākāla*. In a dream, during this period, the Dalai Lama finds himself sitting on a throne in the Jokhang in Lhasa and a man whom he supposes to be Gushri Khan wearing a Mongolian costume comes at the head of hundreds of different peoples, Tibetans, Mongols and Chinese. All bow down and touch his feet with their heads.

(In the *rGya-can*, the Dalai Lama remarks in this connection that although during the second month of the year there was a conflict with Bhutan, he was lucky enough to stay in and receive the teachings of the Oral Tradition.)

180-5-2 H Ka, 23. Iron-tiger year (1650), aged 34

One day in the early autumn when the Dalai Lama was at the Ganden Palace, *'Phrin-las rgya-mtsho*, the Treasurer, draws his attention from the balcony to what looks like a heap of rainbows just above the plain *sPang-chung*. The Dalai Lama feels that he sees the Thirty-five Buddhas in the middle of the rainbows, but is unable to distinguish the attributes which the Buddhas are holding.

180-5-5 H Ka, 23. Iron-hare year (1651), aged 35

In the eleventh month, the Dalai Lama pays a visit to the *Chos-'khor-rgyal* monastery and Yarlung. On the 11th day of the month, he conducts the *bSang* ceremony, the burning of juniper leaves on the tomb of King *Srong-btsan sgam-po*. *Padmasambhava* appears in the Dalai Lama's vision surrounded by many attendants, particularly the great *siddha Thang-stong rgyal-po* (1385–1464) looking very impressive in his advanced age. The latter pours the 'life-water' out of a vase for the Dalai Lama.

The Dalai Lama performs the atonement rite in honour of *dPal-ldan lha-mo* on New Year's day in the main hall of the Ganden Palace. During this rite, in the early morning, he sees the goddess *Yang-gsang drag-mo*, a form of *dPal-ldan lha-mo*, dancing about in the sky saying to him that this year is the time for 'propagating the religion'. (This is a reference to the state visit which the Dalai Lama was to make to Peking at the invitation of the first Manchu Emperor.)

180-6-1 H Kha, 40. Water-dragon year (1652), aged 36

The Dalai Lama presides over the great prayer festival in Lhasa, but he abruptly decides to discontinue his participation and goes to the Ganden Palace in Drepung. He has decided to go to China in the third month of the year and feels that he needs to accomplish certain rites before undertaking the journey in order to ensure the safety of his return to Tibet. He begins to perform the rites of the *Phur-pa* deity and the atoning ritual of *dPal-ldan lha-mo* in the main hall of the palace. (Here in the autobiography, the Dalai Lama states that he left for Drepung in the middle of the festival asking the Abbot of the Ganden monastery, *Chu-bzang-ba* to conduct the prayer festival in his place, but he does not explain why he left for Drepung.[5])

180-6-3

5 *Dukula*, Vol. I, f. 171b5.

On the 22nd, he hears a voice which informs him that he is the master of the teachings concerning the four aspects of *dPal-ldan lha-mo*. (This refers to the rite consisting of twelve *cakras*.[6]) After this, the Dalai Lama feels that he has arrived in a temple three storeys high just like *bSam-yas* and full of dancing *ḍākinīs* wearing various jewels. One of the *ḍākinīs* then leads him on a rainbow-like path to a temple situated on the mount Potala. He arrives in front of *O-rgyan za-hor-ma*, a particular form of *Padmasambhava*. The *Geng* deities rush round expelling the harmful spirits and *Padmasambhava* says to him: 'You are destined to subdue the barbarians. If you feel that you do not want to go, then you must do like this!' (This refers to the Dalai Lama's reluctance to travel to China.) *Padmasambhava* then transforms himself into a red and fearful-looking divinity, holding a hook in his right hand and a ritual dagger in the left, and wearing a lion skin. The divinity commands the army of gods and demons and sets out towards the north-east, that is, China. At that moment, *Padmasambhava* reappears and leads the Dalai Lama to the top of the temple. As they look round, they see all the mountains and valleys red, and some places are full of water with islands in them, all creatures living there looking now sad and now happy. *Padmasambhava* says to him: 'O! This is the impure world, and the pure world is like this', but at this moment the vision ceases.

180-6-5

6 See Plates 30-32.

The Dalai Lama hears a voice which says that he must be careful about his life and that he should request *rGyal-sras bDe-ba bzang-po* to impart to him the teaching of a particular ritual, but the Dalai Lama is unable to realize the significance of the advice at the time. He remarks here that had he then understood the meaning, it would have helped him to

183-1-1

save himself from his foot trouble. He suffered from such an illness in his later years.

Padmasambhava appears again and performs the rite of longevity and then advises him to have a special statue of King *Srong-btsan sgam-po* made.

182-2-1 On the 23rd, five *ḍākiṇīs* playing hand-drums (*dāmaru*) and bells dance in the sky leading *Padmasambhava*, who appears at the end of a long white cloud. He gives the Dalai Lama instructions in the teachings of the northern textual tradition and then transforms himself into the divinity *Guru drag-po*, a manifestation of himself, and then gives the Dalai Lama more instructions.

The Dalai Lama has a vision of all the divinities associated with *Vajrakīla* residing in the middle part of the ritual dagger where the deities dance and the Dalai Lama himself joins in the dance. Eventually he comes up to a deity who holds a mirror and says to him: 'Look into this!' The Dalai Lama sees India, China, Nepal, Oḍḍiyāna and Śambhala. After this, the Dalai Lama feels that he has arrived in *Zangs-mdog dpal-ri*, the paradise of *Padmasambhava*. There on the ground floor of the three-storeyed temple, *Karmaguru*, an aspect of *Padmasambhava*, gives him instructions concerned with the turning away of the unharmonious spirits. Then in a light like a white curtain, *'Tsho-rgyal*, one of the two consorts of *Padmasambhava*, appears in the form of a white woman wearing bone adornments, and becomes the feminine partner in an empowerment initiation for the Dalai Lama who, in his union with her, experiences the realization of the non-duality of Bliss and Voidness (*bde-stong*).

After this, the Dalai Lama arrives in a citadel where a fearful woman with a dark brown complexion swallows him up; he becomes *rDo-rje gro-lod* in her womb, and comes out of it feeling the pride of being *rDo-rje gro-lod*, a wrathful aspect of *Padmasambhava*.

The Dalai Lama performs the atoning rite in honour of *dPal-ldan lha-mo*. He feels that when the goddess gallops across the sky, the world seems to tremble.

The white *ḍākiṇī*, chief of the five kinds of *ḍākiṇīs*, appears to the Dalai Lama giving instructions on how to avoid an undesirable situation. She then leads him through the sky and eventually arrives in a cave in the shape of a *vajra* on a rocky mountain whose summit seems to reach up to the heavens. There an ordinary-looking yogin, whom he supposes to be *Padmasambhava*, touches his head with a vase in the gesture of benediction. Then the yogin, dissolving into light, disappears into the Dalai Lama's heart.

182-4-2 The Dalai Lama leaves for China from Drepung on the 17th of the third month. On the 29th, he arrives at *rTsa-sgyer-mo* where, near a *stūpa*, he stops for the midday meal. In his vision he sees *'Brom rGyal-ba'i 'byung-gnas* (1009–64) who appears at the end of a long white cloud which drifts towards him. *'Brom* looks young with his

locks unplaited and his hands in the gesture of preaching and wearing a white robe. He seems to be surrounded by lamas of the *bKa'-gdams-pa* sect. *Atiśa* seems to appear above the head of *'Brom*. From him the Dalai Lama receives instructions in the *bKa'-gdams-pa* teachings.

183-4-5 H Ka, 25. Water-snake year (1653), aged 37

The Dalai Lama takes up his residence in the Yellow Temple in the vicinity of Peking. He celebrates the New Year and performs the atonement rite in honour of *dPal-ldan lha-mo*. During the performance he sees *Yang-gsang drag-mo* coming towards him carrying three human heads. When he renews the 'support' (*rten*) of the goddess, she appears together with her four attendants in full attire. He then realizes the fact that there is no longer any danger to his life in spite of his own fears and a prophecy of danger threatening him during the coming year. He feels reassured that his return journey to Tibet will meet no obstacles.

183-5-1

On the 11th, in the Yellow Temple, the monks of the Namgyal College perform the atoning rite in honour of *dPal-ldan lha-mo* as a service for the officials who accompany him on his journey. It is feared that in China life is too much given over to pleasure which the Tibetans cannot cope with and, moreover, in a country with such a vast population, the danger of smallpox and other epidemics breaking out is felt to be acute. During the rite, the Dalai Lama sees a vision of the goddess and her attendants galloping across the sky on their horses and mules; sometimes the goddess with her entourage dance in the Yellow Temple raising aloft their flags and weapons. During this period, he recites the goddess's *mantras* many times more than usual. One night, in a dream, numerous monks come to him bowing down to his feet, a sign that the ghost spirits in China are being subdued. In another dream, a man whom he supposed to be a Mongol, but with Chinese features and wearing a dark blue garment in the Manchu style, gives him two Chinese silver shoes. The following morning, the Manchu Emperor suddenly turns up making a large number of gifts. The Dalai Lama feels that the man in his dream is his own deity of wealth.

A further propitiation in honour of the twelve goddesses of Tibet is performed. During the ceremony, the Dalai Lama perceives the goddesses coming in their full array and adorned with a variety of jewels. They give him the impression that they are happy in assisting him to realize all his wishes.

One morning in his vision, the deity *gNas-chung rDo-rje grags-ldan* appears, splendid-looking, clad in armour and as if he was in possession of his oracle. A few days later, a message arrives from *Chos-'khor-gling* in Kheritaka informing him that the monk *Chos-'phel bzang-po* was possessed by *gNas-chung* just about the time that the deity appeared in his vision.

183-6-5

On the 12th of the fourth month, the Dalai Lama arrives in Kheritaka from Peking and there gives a public initiation. The monk *sKal-bzang rgya-mtsho* begins chanting the six-syllable *mantra* and the Dalai Lama

begins to perceive King *Srong-btsan sgam-po* with his Nepalese consort on his right, his Chinese wife on his left and with his ministers ranged behind him. The Dalai Lama takes the apparition as a sign of his own capacity to bring happiness to the Tibetan people.

184-1-4 On the 17th of the fourth month, the Dalai Lama presides at Kheritaka over the rite of *Phur-pa* and the atoning rite celebrated in honour of *dPal-ldan lha-mo*. One day during the ceremony, he perceives a well-adorned woman hiding above the altar in the hall. She has covered her face with her scarf, shyly. A little later, she takes off her garment emitting numerous rays from her naked body. At the end of each ray, the four aspects of *dPal-ldan lha-mo* appear. He composes a new eulogy in her honour that replaces the old text. Due to this eulogy, she now appears more splendid than before.

A few days later, in his vision, he sees *Tsong-kha-pa* sitting on his customary throne in the sky. In front of him, *Mañjuśrī* sits holding a vase. The Dalai Lama perceives that rays come forth from *Tsong-kha-pa*'s heart shining onto *Mañjuśrī*'s heart and from there to the vase. Then water flows from it over the Dalai Lama's head.

184-2-3 On the 14th of the fifth month, the Dalai Lama completes his state visit to the Manchu Emperor. Preparations for returning to Tibet are made and he now conducts at Kheritaka the ritual of *bSang*, a juniper incense offering in honour of religious protectors for his successful visit and for the safety of his return journey. *dPal-ldan lha-mo*, *Dung-skyong-ma*, *Thang-lha*, and *Pehar* all manifest themselves to him as if they also were travelling towards the west.

184-2-5 The Dalai Lama leaves Kheritaka and in the seventh month arrives in Koko-Nor. On the 17th of the month, he performs a thanksgiving ceremony to his religious protectors. The deities, *Putra ming-sring* appear to him showing their blood-soaked locks. They look pleased, but to the Dalai Lama it is obvious that the danger is not yet over.

185-2-3 On the 19th of the ninth month, he reaches the pass of *gDong-la* where he reminds his religious protectors of the oath that they had taken. In his meditation, he imagines himself as the deity *Drag-po-rtsal*, but he perceives that he has in fact become *Guru Drag-dmar* and is so big that his head reaches the heavens. Due to the accomplishment of his meditation, he makes the remark that he has gained some confidence in performing a 'violent rite' (*mngon-spyod, abhicara*). Just about this time, he also has visions in which the religious protector *Tsi'u* wearing his armour and helmet appears. The deity rides a red horse; he holds a sword in his right hand and a lasso in the left.

184-3-2 On the 7th of the tenth month, the Dalai Lama arrives at *Cog-tse-la*, near the mountain of *gNyan-chen Thang-lha*. He performs an elaborate propitiation ceremony to the mountain god. He sees the

dazzling snow peak of the mount which looks to him like a crystal citadel and which is occupied by a white man riding on a white horse.

On the 10th of the tenth month, the Dalai Lama, having the thangka of the divinity *'Jam-dpal rdo-rje* and that of *Atiśa* brought into the chamber of the *Rva-sgreng* temple, makes offerings to them and performs rituals according to the teachings of the *bKa'-gdams-pa* sect. During the rituals, he feels that *Atiśa* arrives to give his blessing. *184-3-5*

The Dalai Lama withdraws into a retreat during the fourth and fifth months in the chapel of *Mahākāla* in the Ganden Palace. During the meditation, he perceives the *rNying-ma-pa* master *Legs-ldan rdo-rje* who is wearing a white garment and whose white hair is hanging down at the back. He says to the Dalai Lama: 'You must initiate yourself into the teachings contained in the texts I rediscovered and then propagate them.' *185-3-4 H Ka, 30. Wood-horse year (1654), aged 38*

On the 13th of the sixth month, the Dalai Lama begins to travel to Tsang from Drepung. On the 15th, he is on the way to *Chu-shur*, and when he arrives at *Tsha-rting-kha* he perceives *Legs-ldan rdo-rje* in the sky near mount *Chu-bo-ri*. He wears a garment which is blue in the upper part and white in the lower part. His locks hang down at the back and he wears a hat in the style of *Za-hor*, sitting in the attitude of royal ease. He has a slightly angry look, raising up a *vajra* with his right hand and holding a ritual dagger in the left which rests on his left knee. He 'liberates' (*sgral-ba*) demons with his dagger. After a while, he turns into the deity *Drag-po-rtsal* with nine heads, then into *rDo-rje gro-lod*. *184-4-2*

On the 7th of the sixth month, the Dalai Lama arrives at the monastery of *dGa'-ldan chos-'khor-gling* and in the afternoon sits on the balcony for a rest. He begins to see a curved rainbow over the summit of mount *Chu-bo*. The chief sacristan, *Blo-bzang mthu-stabs*, who is near him also sees the rainbow. The Dalai Lama perceives *Padmasambhava* in the middle of the rainbows in the style of *Za-hor*, holding a *vajra* in his right hand and a vase in the left. *185-4-4*

On the 20th of the ninth month, the Dalai Lama is on the way back to Drepung from Tsang. As he travels behind mount *Chu-bo*, *Legs-ldan rdo-rje* appears to him again in the same manner as he saw him in his vision on the way to Tsang province. But this time, he emits fire from his body and has a triangular ritual box in front of him containing a *liṅga*. He sends his messengers to gather together many harmful spirits and 'liberates' them with his red dagger. *184-5-3*

After this vision, the Dalai Lama begins to see another one, *Avalokiteśvara*, in the form of *Cittaviśramana* with *Vajrapāṇi* on his right and *Mañjuśrī* on his left. After this the Dalai Lama has yet another vision of the divinity *Che-mchog* with twenty-one heads and

forty-two arms, surrounded by other divinities of the *bKa'-brgyad* cycle. This again changes into another in which he sees *Padmasambhava* in five different aspects holding various attributes, all in the style of *Za-hor-ma*. It is then followed by yet another one in which he sees *Thang-stong rgyal-po* with his hair, moustache and beard all very white and in the aspect of a yogin. He touches the Dalai Lama's head with a vase held in both hands in the gesture of giving initiation.

185-6-2

In the eleventh month, the Dalai Lama takes up residence in the chamber *Śambhala* in the Ganden Palace. *Yama* appears to him during two successive nights without any kind of adornments or his habitual buffalo. A few days later, he appears again, but this time in full array and now mounted on his buffalo. The Dalai Lama takes *Yama* without adornments to mean the forthcoming death of Gushri Khan and with adornments to mean that there would be no great difficulties for his established *dGe-lugs-pa* government, that is, even after Gushri Khan's death. This seems to have been confirmed by the following vision. In the same month, one day, when the Dalai Lama takes up residence in the chamber *Rab-gsal* in the Ganden Palace, *Tsong-kha-pa* appears to him without his habitual attributes of the sword and sacred book volume. He smiles and makes the hand gesture of preaching.

186-1-2 H Nga, 34, 80. Fire-monkey year (1656), aged 40

From the 7th of the sixth month for seven days, the Dalai Lama presides over the atoning ritual to propitiate the goddess *dPal-ldan lha-mo*, performed by the monks of the Namgyal College. On the 10th, the same ritual is performed together with the rite of the divinity *rDo-rje drag-po-rtsal*. During these rituals, the Dalai Lama first perceives *Padmasambhava* sitting at royal ease on a throne in the temple situated on the summit of a mountain which resembles the Potala, the paradise of *Avalokiteśvara*. He plays a hand-drum with his right hand whilst the left hand rests on the head of his consort *'Tsho-rgyal*. He performs a purificatory ritual by picking up a vase and sprinkling water on the head of the Dalai Lama. After this ceremony, the latter feels that his own body has become that of the red *Amitāyus*. Later, the Dalai Lama sees in his vision the teacher *gNub Nam-mkha'i snying-po* who wears the monastic robe and sits in *Maitreya* style. His right hand makes the threatening gesture (*sdigs-mdzub*) and his left hand holds a bamboo walking-stick. After this, in another vision, the Dalai Lama sees *Padmasambhava* sitting on a lotus bathed in a white light which has the shape of an egg. After a while, he dissolves into the Dalai Lama's body and transforms the latter into *rDo-rje drag-po-rtsal*. This vision lasts for a considerable time.

187-2-2 H Ga, 54

The deity *gNas-chung* advises the Dalai Lama to withdraw into retreat, which he does from the 26th of the sixth month, staying for some of the time in the Temple of *Lokeśvara* and *Varti* in the Potala Palace. *Zur* tells him that he will have visions during the retreat and that he must note them down.

On the 26th, the Dalai Lama begins to perform the rite of the divinity *'Gro-ba kun-sgrol*, a form of *Avalokiteśvara*. His consciousness of ordinary existence gradually diminishes and he feels that he has arrived in a white house occupied by *Padmasambhava*. He further perceives the latter's heart containing a crystal-clear paradise in which a number of *ḍākiṇīs* dance. They sprinkle water from their vases in order to cleanse them. *Padmasambhava* turns himself into King *Srong-btsan sgam-po* and vice-versa, and a variety of visions follow.

187-2-5

After these, the Dalai Lama continues his prayers. He assembles the relics of the Buddha, the images of *Padmasambhava* known as *Ratna 'gro-'dul*, rediscovered by *Gar-dbang Las-'phro gling-pa* and *Rigs-'dus padmaguru*, rediscovered by *'Phrang-mgo Shes-rab 'od-zer* (1518–84). He then begins to perceive a *maṇḍala* clear as crystal. In front of it sits *Padmasambhava* emitting numerous *Guru drag-dmar*, a manifestation of himself, in all directions, and these expel the undesirable spirits. As a white lady opens the doors of the *maṇḍala*, King *Srong-btsan sgam-po* appears and together they lead him into the *maṇḍala* where the empowerment ceremony is performed.[7] At the end of the ceremony, the king, who holds a cane, becomes a heap of rainbows which then turns into a white spherical light and he then becomes his normal self again. The *maṇḍala* finally dissolves into his heart within which the Dalai Lama sees a large number of boys of different colours. One of them gives him prophecies concerning the restoration of temples and images found by *Srong-btsan sgam-po* and the evaluation of situations. The boy, who is taken to be *Padmasambhava*, now becomes a white *Heruka*. The Dalai Lama receives more prophecies from him, this time mainly about what kind of rites should be performed by the monks of the Namgyal College. Immediately after this, he has another vision in which he sees *Mahākaruṇā* appearing as a white god, with his plaited locks tied together on the crown of his head. After a while, the deity turns into the form of *Padmasambhava* and then gives to the Dalai Lama prophetic instructions on maintaining the stability of his theocratic government.

7 See Plate 1.

In yet another vision, the Dalai Lama feels that the Potala Palace where he resides changes into a heaven, clear as crystal, occupied by *Mahākaruṇā* with innumerable heavens situated all over his body. He feels that *Śākyamuni*, who appears to be residing in one of the heavens, gives inspiration and encouragement. Just at that moment, *Padmasambhava* appears from the heart of the deity and, from the latter's heart, *rDo-rje drag-po-rtsal*. In front of *Mahākaruṇā*, a blue-green goddess who is in fact *'Tsho-rgyal* gives the Dalai Lama prophecies concerning what rites should be performed for the welfare of the Tibetan people.

In another vision, the Dalai Lama sees the syllable *HRI* standing on a moon-seat at the heart of the image *Lokeśvara* surrounded by the six syllables: *Oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ*. He feels that *Lokeśvara* gives him prophecies concerning, among other things, the restoration of temples built by King *Srong-btsan sgam-po*. This is followed by another vision

in which *Padmasambhava* appears, making a threatening gesture (*sdigs-mdzub*) with his left hand. The Dalai Lama then receives more prophecies. Then the yogin *Dri-med* appears as a white Brahman with his locks tied together on the crown of his head. He is clad in a white garment and gives the Dalai Lama prophetic instructions on how to suppress the noxious spirits.

White and blue goddesses, who are in fact *Mandarāvā* and *'Tsho-rgyal*, then appear to the Dalai Lama in the same vision, opening a scroll before him. It contains indications of possible trouble-makers (*phyung-byed*), but he is unable to recognize them. In yet another vision, he receives more prophetic instructions from a deity who has the appearance of King *Srong-btsan sgam-po* concerning the unfavourable geomantic positions around the Jokhang in Lhasa.

186-6-2 On the 27th, the Dalai Lama perceives *Mahākaruṇā* who appears in the form of a man. He gives him instructions on how to bring happiness to the Tibetan people. This is followed by another one in which an unidentified and impressive yogin tells the Dalai Lama that he should take the eight divinities of the *bKa'-brgyad* cycle as his tutelary divinities. Then he begins to have visions of the following yogins and the deities which occupy their hearts:

1. *Vimalamitra* at whose heart appears the *Phur-pa* deity,
2. *'Jam-dpal bshes-gnyen* with the deity *'Jam-dpal tshe-bdag*,
3. *Klu-sgrub snying-po* with the deity *Padma yang-gsang*,
4. *Padmasambhava* with the deity *Che-mchog*,
5. *Hūṃkara* with the deity *Yang-dag*,
6. *Dhanasanskrita* with the goddess *Ma-mo*,
7. *Guhyacandra* with the deity *Dregs-pa kun-'dul*,
8. *Śāntigarbha* with the deity *sTobs-ldan nag-po*.

After these visions, a white yogin holding a *vajra* and a bell performs the empowerment ceremony for the Dalai Lama.[8] In front of the yogin sits *'Tsho-rgyal* who tells the Dalai Lama that now he, having obtained all the initiations of the *bKa'-brgyad* cycle, need fear no dangers during the year. The yogin then turns into *rDo-rje gro-lod*, who summons a *dam-sri* spirit and traps it in his triangular receptacle and then 'liberates' (*sgral-ba*) it.

8 Plates 2–3.

189-1-4 On the 28th, the Dalai Lama sees *Mahākaruṇā* clad in a white garment and holding a rosary in his right hand and a walking-stick in the left. But the deity suddenly changes into a man with a white complexion sitting cross-legged with his locks tied on either side of the crown of his head. Bending forward and staring at the Dalai Lama, he says that, for subduing the evil spirits, *rDo-rje gro-lod* is the most effective deity. At the same time, and in the same vision, the yogin *Dri-med* appears standing in the form of a man with a white complexion making the bestowal gesture with his right hand and with his left hand resting on his left thigh.

On the 30th, the Dalai Lama perceives *rDo-rje gro-lod* in the sky. He feels that he himself has become the divinity, but at the same time receives instructions from the deity on the identification of the *dam-sri* spirits. *'Tsho-rgyal*, in the form of a blue-green girl also appears, adorned with jewel ornaments and wearing a silk skirt. She gives the Dalai Lama a sword which of its own accord cuts his body in two. He feels that his mind remains intact in the form of white light. He tries to meditate on *rDo-rje gro-lod*, but his mind wanders. The girl then gives him prophetic instructions concerning the people who might deceive him. *188-2-3*

In another vision, *Padmasambhava* appears in the form of *Za-hor-ma* having *Mandarāvā* on his right, holding a vase, and *'Tsho-rgyal* on his left, holding a skull-cup full of nectar. The latter is clad in a multi-coloured dress, a pair of white shoes and the Tibetan *ko-thod* head-dress adorned with gold and jewels. They give him information concerning the evil spirits. Just at this moment, the yogin *Dri-med* flashes in, playing the sun and moon like a pair of cymbals. He says that it is he who can subdue the evil spirits.

Then a yogin in the form of *Padmasambhava* appears sitting on a moon seat and under the canopy of the sun. While pointing his walking-stick to the sky, he says: 'Look!' As the Dalai Lama looks into space, he realizes the significance of the integration of 'Sphere and Intellect' (*dbyings-rig sres-pa*). The Dalai Lama then receives from him more instructions on meditation.

After this, there manifests a lotus with six petals, having the syllable *HRI* in its centre and the six syllables of the *mantra Oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ* on each petal. The Dalai Lama himself becomes a *HRI* syllable and hears a sound from a white circle above the lotus. The sound transmits to him prophetic information concerning his affairs during the four years to come (i.e. 1656–59). After this, a beautiful girl, wearing a Tibetan woman's head-dress, appears and says that she is *'Tsho-rgyal* and gives him instructions on meditation. At her instigation he himself becomes *Vajrasattva* and enters into union with her and so receives the third stage of the empowerment ceremony involving the four kinds of 'Enjoyment' (*dga'-ba*) which enables him to accomplish the realization of the integration of 'Sphere and Intellect'. The girl then leads him to *Zangs-mdog dpal-ri* where *Padmasambhava* resides, surrounded by many *siddhas* and *ḍākiṇīs*. The Dalai Lama feels that *Padmasambhava* does not recognize him. He sees the *maṇḍalas* of the *bKa'-brgyad* cycle. *'Tsho-rgyal* introduces him to *Padmasambhava* who imagines him to be the divinity *Che-mchog* and then performs the empowerment ceremony of the teaching cycle. When *Padmasambhava* lifts up the *torma*, *Ekajātī*, *Rāhula* and other religious protectors appear. *Padmasambhava* orders them, particularly *dPal-ldan lha-mo*, to be servants of the Dalai Lama.

On the 5th of the seventh month, the monks of Drepung perform the ceremony of long life for the Dalai Lama in the main temple of the *189-4-1 H Nga, 83*

monastery. The *gNas-chung* oracle comes up to him, showing strange drawings and saying that they represent thrones in different heavens. (No explanation is given for the significance of the drawings.)

Later in the afternoon, when the Dalai Lama returns to his residence, he meets a yogin draped in a white cloth near the back door of his palace. The yogin accompanies him and later, in the *Rab-gsal* chamber, the yogin sits on a throne and then touches the Dalai Lama's head with a vase and a skull-cup full of nectar. Then the yogin turns into another one wearing a tantric cloak and a black hat. He summons the *dam-sri* spirits in various forms and imprisons them in his triangular ritual receptacle in order to 'liberate' (*sgral-ba*) them. After this ceremony, the yogin reverts to his previous form. In the sky, at that moment, *Amitāyus* in the form of *'Chi-bdag bdud-'joms* appears, holding in his left hand a vase with four petals rising from its belly, and waving a ritual arrow with his right hand.[9] The divinity, making the gesture of 'calling life' (*tshe-'gugs*), vanishes. The yogin is thought to be *dBang-po-sde*.

9 Plate 4.

189-5-4 On the 10th the Dalai Lama assembles the following images of *Padmasambhava* in the main hall of the Ganden Palace for the ceremony of offerings to *Padmasambhava* (*tshes-bcu mchod-pa*):

1. The image known as *Padma mthong-grol* made from sandstone and rediscovered by *Nyang-ral Nyi-ma 'od-zer* (1124–92) from *Brag srin-mo sbar-rjes*.
2. The image *Padma mthong-grol*, rediscovered by *Guru Chos-dbang* (1212–70) from *gNam-skas-brag*.
3. The image *Padma mthong-grol*, rediscovered by *Ratna gling-pa* (1403–76) from *Brag-dmar ri-mo-can*.
4. The white stone image, rediscovered by *Sangs-rgyas gling-pa* (1340–96) from *Gla-gor dung-sgo*.
5. The copper image called *Me-thub-ma*, rediscovered by *Kun-skyong gling-pa* (b. 1396?) from *Zab-phu*.
6. The image *Padmaguru*, rediscovered by *'Phrang-mgo Shes-rab 'od-zer* (1518–84) from *Khra-'brug*.
7. Four more images of *Padmasambhava* of uncertain origin.
8. A thangka of *Padmasambhava*'s footprint, rediscovered by *Guru Chos-dbang* from *Pha-vang g.yu-brag*.
9. The image of *Ye-shes 'tsho-rgyal*, rediscovered by *Ratna gling-pa*.

The Dalai Lama then begins the ceremony with the monks of the Namgyal College. When they make offerings to *Mahākaruṇā*, he has a vision of the Bodhisattva with four arms and *Padmasambhava* residing in his heart. Six rays flash from *Padmasambhava* and at the end of each ray sits one of the six manifestations of the Buddha. The rays travel to all parts of the universe relieving living beings from their suffering.

During the meditation part of the ceremony, the Dalai Lama first sees *O-rgyan za-hor-ma* holding a gold *vajra*, then he himself becomes

rDo-rje gro-lod. All the eight kinds of demoniac beings pay respects to him.

During the invocation part of the ceremony, *Padmasambhava* appears with a saffron-coloured face. He comes round the altar and nods to the Dalai Lama as if to say 'Come!' He leads the latter to a place surrounded by a white curtain and situated to the west side of the main hall. There he sees the *maṇḍala* of *Mahākaruṇā*[10] surrounded by five kinds of *ḍākiṇīs* dancing about. He then receives the empowerment initiation after which he feels that he himself has momentarily become *rDo-rje gro-lod.* After a while, he begins to see the eight aspects of *Padmasambhava* dancing around in the *maṇḍala.* Finally, the nine divinities (i.e. *Padmasambhava* and his eight aspects) dissolve simultaneously into himself, making him become *rDo-rje drag-po-rtsal.*

10 Plate 5.

During the special prayer part of the ceremony, the Dalai Lama perceives *'Tsho-rgyal* wearing a Tibetan woman's dress. She leads him away down a white path and eventually arrives in a square palace with four gates, situated on the summit of a mountain. The ground floor is occupied by *Karmaguru;* the centre of the first floor by *Padmasambhava* with a three-dimensional *maṇḍala* of the *bKa'-brgyad* cycle[11] on his right and the eight aspects of *Padmasambhava* around him; the third floor is occupied by *Vajradhara* who sometimes manifests as a divinity with eleven heads, the eleventh being horse-headed (i.e. *Hayagrīva*). After showing him around, *'Tsho-rgyal* finally gives him some prophetic instructions concerning the welfare of Tibet. She then becomes a beautiful yogini clad in a white dress with her hair falling down her back.

11 Plate 6.

190-3-2

On the 12th, the monks of the Namgyal College perform the ceremony of long life for the Dalai Lama. He suddenly has a vision of *Padmasambhava* holding a *vajra* together with an 'arrow of life' (*tshe-mda'*) adorned with silk strips in five colours in his right hand and two vases, one on the top of the other, placed in a skull-cup held in his left hand. On his left, all the ritual objects that are required in the empowerment ceremony, such as the vase on the tripod, are laid out.[12] The Dalai Lama is aware that he receives the empowerment initiation of life (*tshe-dbang*) from *Padmasambhava* who resides in the middle of rays and rainbows. Finally, *Padmasambhava* sprinkles water from his vases on the Dalai Lama's head causing a red *Hayagrīva* to appear from the crown of his head. The vision stays on until the assembly of monks completes the ceremony.

12 Plate 7 A.

191-3-5 H Da, 190. Fire-bird year (1657), aged 41

The Dalai Lama performs the atonement ritual in honour of *dPal-ldan lha-mo* on New Year's day, in the Ganden Palace. During the ritual, he has a vision of the goddess looking very wrathful and clad in a black dress made of yak's hair. She wears no jewels. Facing towards the west, she strides across the Drepung monastery with one foot on a building on the northern side and the other foot on a house on the southern side of the monastery. As she strides on houses they crumble down, sending up dust.

190-4-4 H Ka, 34. Earth-pig year (1659), aged 43 In the second month, the monks of the Namgyal College make propitiation to *gNyan-chen Thang-lha* in the main hall of the Ganden Palace. During this ritual, the Dalai Lama has a vision of a handsome white man adorned with jewels, dancing in the hall of the palace.

191-4-1 H Ca, 97 The *gNas-chung* protector sends a messenger to tell the Dalai Lama that he must go into a retreat in front of the two sacred images, i.e. *Lokeśvara* and *Varti* in the Potala Palace, in order to find out a means through which he can render service to the Tibetan people. The messenger comes when the Dalai Lama is occupied with the funeral service of the Regent *bSod-nams rab-brtan,* whose death had occurred in the previous year (1658), but had not yet been announced to the public. All the same, he goes into retreat for one week from the 8th of the fourth month in the Temple of *Lokeśvara* and *Varti* in the Potala Palace. During the retreat, he prays particularly to *Lokeśvara,* to show him where the incarnation of his teacher *Zur* (d. 1657) will be born. In a vision, the Dalai Lama sees *Lokeśvara,* who usually appears very small, as big as a man emitting five coloured lights from his heart towards the heart of *Padmasambhava* in *Zangs-mdog dpal-ri.* The lights then shine on his own heart, producing a blissful feeling. In this state, he begins to perceive his own heart in the form of a lotus with eight petals, but also in the form of a mountain with valleys. In the central valley of the mountain appears a great palace built on a rocky mountain with a golden roof, occupied by a yogin. In the south and southeast, he sees a white house with a black roof in a village situated in a meadow with two mountians on either side, one higher than the other, and a river flowing across the valley.

The vision is followed by another in which the Dalai Lama sees the syllable *HRI* standing on a moon-seat in the heart of *Lokeśvara.* The syllable *HRI* is surrounded by the six syllables: white *OṂ,* green *MA,* red *ṆI,* smoke-blue *PAD,* yellow *ME* and black *HŪṂ.* Each syllable emits a light of its own colour towards the realms of the six kinds of living beings thus relieving their suffering. Finally, after all the lights are withdrawn, white nectar gushes out from the heart of *Lokeśvara* cleansing all the Dalai Lama's body until it becomes transparent and then transforming it into a red *Hayagrīva.*

On the 9th, the Dalai Lama sees *Lokeśvara* again with the six syllables in his heart: holding the Dalai Lama's hands, he says: 'In Central Tibet, people must recite the six-syllable *mantra* 100,000,000 times and in *Pha-bong-kha* the ritual method of realization (*sgrub-thabs*) of the three divinities, namely *Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī* and *Vajrapāṇi* must be established.' Then *Lokeśvara* shows him King *Srong-btsan sgam-po* who looks out of *Lokeśvara*'s own heart with *Amitābha* in his turban, but the king then changes into the form of *Mahākaruṇā,* a white boy holding a crystal rosary in his right hand and a crystal walking-stick in the left.

On the 10th, the Dalai Lama hears a voice which, among other prophetic instructions, tells him to renew the consecration (*rab-gnas*) of

the ancient temples and to establish monastic communities in them. After this, *Lokeśvara* suddenly appears bathed in a white light and makes the Dalai Lama see the *maṇḍala* of *Hayagrīva*.[13] A boy, holding a crystal rosary in his right hand and a lotus in the left, appears from the heart of *Lokeśvara* and initiates the Dalai Lama into the *maṇḍala*: this produces in him the realization of the non-duality of Bliss and Voidness. Then the *maṇḍala* finally dissolves into lights which in turn dissolve into the body of *Lokeśvara*. The latter then says to him: 'If you invoke this divinity (i.e. *Hayagrīva*), the dangers which threaten during the pig-year (i.e. the current year) will be warded off.'

13 Plate 7 B.

In another vision, *Mandarāvā* and *'Tsho-rgyal* appear as white and green goddesses. They lead the Dalai Lama to *Zangs-mdog dpal-ri* where he meets *Padmasambhava* who holds a *vajra* in his right hand and a vase in his left. Beside him, the ritual objects, which are required in the empowerment ceremony, such as the vase and skull-cup, are arranged.[14] *Padmasambhava* performs the ablution ceremony by touching the Dalai Lama's head with the vase: this signifies his association with *Padmasambhava*. The two goddesses then perform various dances and give the Dalai Lama some prophetic instructions concerning the affairs of the current year. The white goddess changes into the white *Tārā* holding a vase in her left hand; the green goddess into *Khadiravaṇitārā* holding a jewel in her left hand.

14 Plate 8 A.

Padmasambhava then turns into the red *Amitāyus* adorned with the six kinds of bone ornaments holding a *vajra* in his right hand and a vase in his left. The two *Tārā* goddesses become one white goddess who then enters into union with *Amitāyus*. They perform the empowerment ceremony of the divinity.

Finally, the two goddesses again lead the Dalai Lama back along the same path, but arrive in a place that resembles a Chinese village. There *Vimalamitra* in the form of a *paṇḍita* with a beard gives him textual initiation of a large number of volumes.

192-3-2

On the 11th, in a vision, a blue yogin appears clad in a white cotton dress sitting on an antelope skin with his right knee flexed and the other resting on the seat. With his forefinger pointing up and his left hand resting on the side of the seat, he gives prophetic instructions concerning the affairs during the next twelve years, counting from iron-mouse year (1660). The yogin finally dissolves into lights and then becomes *Padmasambhava*.

192-3-5

On the 12th, the Dalai Lama becomes aware that the image of *Lokeśvara* and the surrounding buildings are transparent. In this state, he feels that he has arrived at a house with a high roof, situated in a village in an unknown country. There he finds *Cittaviśramana* who gives prophetic instructions. Lights of five colours shine forth from his heart in all directions and each ray of light carries a *ḍākiṇī* at its end. All *ḍākiṇīs* sing prophetic songs concerning the conflicts in the current year. At this moment, *Padmasambhava* appears between his two

consorts, holding a trident in his right hand and making the threatening gesture (*sdigs-mdzub*) with his left hand. He instructs the Dalai Lama on the means to bring peace to Tibet. After this, *Padmasambhava* flashes five coloured rays from his own heart to the heart of the image of *Mahākaruṇā* in the Jokhang, making it look sublime. He then tells the Dalai Lama to make a crown for the image.[15]

15 This was made in 1659, *Dukula*, Vol. I, f. 278b5, 289a3; Vol. II, f. 164b4.

192-4-4 On the 13th, the Dalai Lama becomes aware that he has arrived in a place whose form is like a crystal egg. There he sees the white syllable *HRI* surrounded by the six syllables: *Oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ*, all sparkling. As the syllables dissolve in him, he feels that he has arrived at the three-storeyed palace of *Laṅka* which stands on the summit of a red, rocky mountain rising high in the heavens out of the centre of a red plain. In the palace, the Dalai Lama meets *Padmasambhava* and *Thang-stong rgyal-po*. The latter touches the Dalai Lama's head with a vase sprinkling water from it on his head. It makes him feel that his whole body disperses into small pieces and then disappears altogether into lights. *Padmasambhava* then changes himself into *Guru drag-po* who in turn becomes the Dalai Lama himself.

193-4-5 On the 14th, the Dalai Lama performs the ritual of longevity. During the ritual, he feels that all the surroundings have become a mass of lights and he then begins to perceive the mount *Chu-bo*, the residence of *Thang-stong rgyal-po*. The latter has his white locks tied together at the top of his head and is dressed as a yogin, looking splendid in his advanced years. He comes forward to meet the Dalai Lama, sprinkling water out of his vase on the ritual items and on the Dalai Lama's head, at the same time making nectar flow from his own heart to the Dalai Lama which causes him to feel that his own body is full of nectar. At this moment, another yogin, younger than *Thang-stong rgyal-po*, emanates out of him just as one butter-lamp is lit from another, adorned with six kinds of bone ornaments and sitting on an antelope skin. He advises the Dalai Lama that for removing the defilement contracted from people who have broken their vows (*dam-grib*), the ablution ritual of *Vidhvaṃsana* is to be performed. He further tells him that a golden roof should be erected on the temple of the mount *Chu-bo*. Having said that, he dissolves into *Amitāyus* in the *maṇḍala*.[16] After this, *Thang-stong rgyal-po* himself sprinkles water into the Dalai Lama's mouth and then dissolves into the latter's heart.

16 Plate 8 B.

In a different vision, the Dalai Lama becomes aware that he has again arrived at the same place where *Thang-stong rgyal-po* manifests himself in a temple as *Hayagrīva* and gives him prophetic instructions on the question of the restoration of temples in the vital places (*sa-gnad*) around Lhasa.

Here the Dalai Lama makes the following statement: 'I wrote these visions down immediately on the *samṭa* and left them in a safe place. On the 16th, the death of the Regent *bSod-nams rab-brtan* was made public and as I was much occupied with the funeral services, I forgot

about the notes on the *samṭa* and remembered about them on the 15th of the second month of the iron-mouse year (1660). The prophetic instructions concerning the troubled period during the earth-pig year (1659) now look like 'a dyke built after the flood has already passed by', but, all the same, I have recorded them.'

From the 8th of the ninth month, the Dalai Lama takes up residence for a week in the Temple of *Lokeśvara* in the Potala Palace in order to carry out the ritual of longevity: during this ceremony, *Thang-stong rgyal-po* comes to him in a vision and gives 'life-empowerment' (*tshe-dbang*) based on the *maṇḍala* of *Amitāyus*. *192-6-4*

One evening while the Dalai Lama is staying in the Potala Palace, *Rāhula* appears to him. His colour is green and he measures about two feet high. He remarks that the divinity appears to him since he is the protector of his family (*rigs-kyi srung-ma*). *193-6-2 H Ka, 34. Iron-mouse year (1660), aged 44*

(On the 11th) of the fifth month, the *gNas-chung* deity urges the Dalai Lama to go into a retreat and he believes that there must be a good reason for this. He appoints *Ja'i-sang sde-ba* (*'Phrin-las rgya-mtsho*) and several others to take government decisions in his place, and withdraws into retreat for three weeks in the Potala Palace. There he makes his attendants bring the images of *Lokeśvara* and *Varti* from their temple to the western chamber where he resides, and arranges offerings in front of them. He then begins the ablution ritual of *Vidhvaṃsana* in order to remove the defilement (*grib-sel*) and recites the six-syllable *mantra* of *Cintāmaṇicakra*, a form of *Avalokiteśvara* with four arms. *193-6-4 H Cha, 120*

On the 16th, he has a vision of the deity with a small temple in his heart occupied by a white boy who holds a crystal staff. The latter gives the Dalai Lama prophetic instructions on the possible troubles that might arise during the current year.

The Dalai Lama continues the retreat for two weeks, practising meditation according to the instructions given by *Padmasambhava* to *Legs-ldan rdo-rje*. Here he states that he did not have many 'illusions' (*'khrul-snang*, i.e. visions) during the first two weeks of the retreat and that he had not been very well.

(The Dalai Lama still continues the retreat.) On the 2nd of the sixth month, *Lokeśvara* appears before him standing in the air at his residence. He holds a white lotus in his right hand and his left hand rests on his left thigh. He tells the Dalai Lama that the retreat is good for him and that it will help him to solve the problems of the current year. *195-1-4*

In another vision, a white boy (i.e. *Lokeśvara*), emitting rays from the ring finger of his right hand, removes unclean objects from the Dalai Lama's eyes and gives him advice as to which divinities he should propitiate. The white boy then transforms himself into *Avalokiteśvara* with four arms, who says to the Dalai Lama that the

ceremony for the recitation of the 'six syllables' and the rite of ablution based on *Vidhvaṃana* must be established in all places.

This vision is followed by yet another one in which the Dalai Lama sees in the sky a paradise resembling a circle of white light. He arrives there and sees many dancing goddesses, amongst whom a red goddess, who is the *ḍākiṇī gSang-ba ye-shes*, tells him that he should make offerings to the holy images of *Padmasambhava*.

195-2-4 On the morning of the 3rd, the Dalai Lama is aware that his surroundings are bathed in a white light. He then begins to perceive the white syllable *HRI* in a white lotus emitting innumerable rays of light. From the sound which comes out of the syllable, he hears words to the effect that it is good if offerings are made in Lhasa and a golden roof is erected on the palace of *Yum-bu bla-sgang*.[17] Then, as the syllable *HRI* dissolves into his own heart, there appears a six-inch high *Cittaviśramana* in a crystal mansion. The deity gives him prophetic instructions concerning the conflict in Kongpo and a crown to be made for the image of *Jo-bo* in *Bu-chu*.[18]

17 This was erected, but no precise date is given, *Dukula*, Vol. IV, f. 159b3.

18 The crown was made in 1664, *Dukula*, Vol. I, f. 358b2.

194-3-2 In the evening of the same day, the Dalai Lama brings the images of *Padmasambhava*: *bSod-nams dpal-'bar*, belonging to the *rNying-ma-pa* master, *Byang-chub gling-pa*, and *Guru bde-ba-can*, belonging to the *'Bri-gung* monastery, and then recites a prayer to *Padmasambhava*. He begins to perceive *O-rgyan Za-hor-ma*, but at the same time a few white *ḍākiṇīs* appear playing hand-drums and bells. As they dance, they lead him away on a rainbow path. They arrive in a great plain, hitherto unseen, in the centre of which rises a red mountain. On the summit of the mount, he finds a beautiful palace whose pillars are made of precious materials and roofed in gold. In the palace, *Karmaguru*, an aspect of *Padmasambhava*, is seated on a throne also made of precious materials. As the Dalai Lama arrives in front of him, rays of light come forth and the Dalai Lama himself becomes an aspect of *Karmaguru*. After a while, a raging flame comes forth from *Karmaguru*'s navel and the Dalai Lama feels that his body is totally burned as a feather in fire, but all the same he still feels that he is *Karmaguru* himself. *Karmaguru* then gives the empowerment initiations of the 'vital force' (*srog-dbang*), 'liberation' (*bsgral-dbang*) and 'hurling' (*zor-dbang*). He tells the Dalai Lama that he must perform the rite of *Karmaguru* for seven days. After this, *'Tsho-rgyal* in the form of a white girl leads him out of the palace which is *Zangs-mdog dpal-ri*, the paradise of *Padmasambhava*, and the vision ceases.

The Dalai Lama then says prayers to *Avalokiteśvara* who appears and has the look of a boy standing upright with his blue locks tied together on the crown of his head; he is clad in a white lower garment, and is making the gesture of bestowal with his right hand and holding a crystal staff in his left hand. He tells the Dalai Lama about the signs of the trouble-makers (*'gong-po*) who cause problems. The deity then transforms himself into King *Srong-btsan sgam-po* holding a white lotus

in his right hand, his left hand stretching towards his left knee, and sitting in the attitude of royal ease. On his right he has his Nepalese consort and on his left the Chinese. The king tells the Dalai Lama that he should offer a gold wheel[19] to the goddess *Ma-gcig dpal-lha*, i.e. *dPal-ldan lha-mo*, and make an image of the king himself in the style of *Cakravartin* in the Jokhang in Lhasa. Then the Dalai Lama perceives *Cittaviśramana* in the king's heart which opens like a glass window exactly as witnessed by *Zur Padma-dbang*. After giving some prophetic advice, the window is closed and the king dissolves into the heart of *Lokeśvara*.

19 This was made in 1662, *Dukula*, Vol. I, f. 324a5.

Another vision follows. A yogin clad in a cotton garment with sleeves appears. He shows the Dalai Lama the deity *Vajrakumāra* who resides in his own heart and says to him: 'Look, if you do not believe', changing himself into *Padmasambhava* who then tells the Dalai Lama about the rituals that should be performed for the welfare of the Tibetan people and giving prophetic instructions concerning eventualities up to water-mouse year (1672).

194-5-3

On the 4th, the Dalai Lama offers prayers to the two images: *Lokeśvara* and *Varti*. He sees in his vision rays of light coming out of *Lokeśvara*'s heart pervading the whole universe. Amidst white lights, a boy with blue locks holding a crystal rosary gives him prophetic advice on how to select disciples. Gradually the boy turns into *Cittaviśramana* who then finds himself beside various ritual articles for performing the empowerment ceremony.[20]

20 Plate 9 A.

After this, the Dalai Lama says prayers to *Padmasambhava* who appears in the sky. The Dalai Lama perceives a rainbow leading towards the west which he follows and arrives at the base of an awesome castle built with human skulls, with a door open half-way up, in the city of *Laṅka*. He enters it and finds the place very spacious and occupied by *Karmaguru* in *yab-yum* attitude sitting on a throne made of male and female *rakṣasa* demons. The *yab* looks wonderful with his dark-brown complexion and holds a sword in his right hand and a ritual dagger in his left. The *yum* with her red complexion holds a crooked knife (*gri-gug*) in her right hand and a skull-cup in the left. Both are adorned with bone ornaments and clad in tiger-skin skirts, sitting in the attitude of royal ease. The couple is surrounded by a number of *ḍākiṇīs*, also adorned with bone ornaments, dancing and singing. The Dalai Lama feels that he is swallowed up by the *yab* and then deposited into the *yum*'s womb where he is bathed in the red and white *bodhicitta*, receiving the four kinds of empowerment initiation. As he finally emerges from the womb, he feels pleasure mingled with the experience of the non-duality of Bliss and Voidness. He finds that he now resembles the *yab*. The latter then gives prophetic instructions on how to dislodge the disguised trouble-makers.

195-6-2

On the 5th, the Dalai Lama recites the six-syllable *mantra*. He feels that the images *Lokeśvara* and *Varti* become one and, in the form of

Lokeśvara, he himself is as tall as one storey of a house. In his central psychic vein, the Dalai Lama sees the five *cakras*, in descending order, with the colours white, red, blue, yellow and green. *Cittaviśramana* can be seen in the centre of each *cakra* in the corresponding colour with a syllable *HRI* in his heart. Lights shine from each *cakra* to those in the Dalai Lama's own body making him feel that his body is no longer made of material substance. The five *cakras* in his transparent body finally become five balls of light. The one on his head contains the five aspects of *Amitāyus*; the one in the neck, *O-rgyan bDe-ba chen-po*; the one in the heart, *Mahākaruṇā*; the one in his navel, *gSang-ba ye-shes*; and the one in his sexual organ, *Hayagrīva*. At that moment, a white man appears to arrange a *maṇḍala* which has at its centre a *man-dal* with eight petals and an image of *Amitābha*.[21] The Dalai Lama then receives the empowerment initiation from *Lokeśvara*.

21 Plate 9 B.

After this, *Padmasambhava* flashes in. There also appears a red lady adorned with bone ornaments, but she disappears again. *'Tsho-rgyal* then suddenly appears in the form of a white lady, also adorned with bone ornaments and playing a hand-drum and a bell. She approaches, dancing, and makes the gesture of *cumbana*, 'close and immediate contact', and so the Dalai Lama enters into the meditation on *Hayagrīva*, but she tells him that this is an error and that he should meditate upon *Karmaguru* in order to be her partner. In the meditation and through the four kinds of 'Enjoyment' (*dga'-ba*), the white and red *bodhicitta* flow downwards and then withdraw upwards. After this, the *ḍākiṇī* demonstrates to him various yogic postures and then, putting her feet on the Dalai Lama's head, gives him prophetic instructions concerning the coming of *Padmasambhava*'s emanations as 'textual rediscoverers' (*gter-ston*).

196-2-4 On the 6th, *Mahākaruṇā* appears sitting in the attitude of royal ease. His right hand makes the earth-witness gesture and his left hand rests on the seat. His locks are tied on the crown of his head but without any adornments. This vision is followed by the appearance of *Padma-sambhava* clad in a blue garment and holding a *vajra* in his right hand and a ritual dagger in the left. As he greets the Dalai Lama, the divinity *rDo-rje drag-po-rtsal* appears as tall as one storey of a house standing in a raging flame and uttering *ha ha ha hi hi hi* and *hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ*. He gets bigger and bigger, seeming to shake the earth, brandishing his gold *vajra* and clanging his bell. He also utters various prophetic words. Finally he puts his *vajra* on the Dalai Lama's head: it descends into his heart turning itself into a five-pointed *vajra*, and then the divinity himself dissolves into the Dalai Lama's head.

196-3-2 On the 7th, *Mahākaruṇā* appears again showing the syllables *OṂ Ā HŪṂ SVĀ HĀ* in his head, neck, heart, navel and sexual organ respectively. From each of the syllables nectar flows forth in white, red, blue, yellow and green to the five corresponding points in the Dalai Lama's body. Finally the deity himself dissolves into lights and then disappears into the Dalai Lama.

On the 8th, the Dalai Lama has a vision of a world situated on a white lotus with eight petals on which various cities appear. In the lotus's centre, a brilliant mountain rises with a mansion on its summit occupied by *Nam-mkha' rgyal-po,* an aspect of *Avalokiteśvara,* with 1,000 eyes and 1,000 arms. The Dalai Lama perceives that nectar flows from the deity's heart into the worlds of the six kinds of living beings, removing their long-endured suffering. At that moment, *Lokeśvara,* shining like crystal, emerges from the deity's heart and gives him prophecies. *Lokeśvara* then shows him round the mountain. Finally, all that the Dalai Lama sees turns into white syllables which then dissolve into *Lokeśvara.*

196-4-2

As the Dalai Lama was advised to perform the ritual method of realization of *Karmaguru* for a week in the prophetic instructions which he received on the 3rd of the sixth month, he now begins the ritual on the evening of the 8th of the same month.

197-4-5 H Ja, 151

On the 10th of the same month, it rains flowers, and rainbows are seen on the top of the Potala Palace. In a vision, the Dalai Lama sees *dBang-po-sde* clad in a white garment and sitting in the attitude of royal ease. His locks are tied together with a piece of silk on the crown of his head and he holds a *vajra* in his right hand close to his chest and a ritual dagger in his left hand which rests on his left knee. On his right, the *rNying-ma-pa* master, *Rig-'dzin Ngag-gi dbang-po* (1580–1639) wears a white hat and garment, and is holding a *vajra* and a vase; on his left, *Zur,* clad in monk's costume, makes the preaching gesture with his right hand and that of meditation with his left hand, holding a sacred volume. In front of them, ritual articles and offerings are arranged according to the ritual cycle of *Karmaguru.*[22] *dBang-po-sde,* who is also known by the name *Karmaguru,* then performs the empowerment ceremony of the ritual cycle which includes, among other things, the empowerment ceremonies of 'liberation' (*bsgral-dbang*) and 'hurling offerings' (*zor-dbang*). *dBang-po-sde* then displays himself as *Heruka* with the six kinds of ornaments and wearing a loin-cloth made of tiger-skin. He, holding a trident and sitting in the attitude of royal ease, identifies the trouble-makers as well as the qualified disciples who will arise in the future.

196-5-2

22 Plate 42.

On the 12th, the Dalai Lama recites a prayer to *Karmaguru.* In his vision, *dBang-po-sde* appears and with his two hands he opens up a packet, wrapped in a piece of a white cloth, and which contains a yellow manuscript-roll. After showing it to the Dalai Lama, the manuscript rolls itself up and then turns into a saffron-coloured syllable *HRI* which dissolves into the Dalai Lama's heart. Touching the latter's head with both his hands, *dBang-po-sde* says: 'Write it down as it appeared to you!'

196-6-3 H Nya, 163; Ta, 172

Here the Dalai Lama states that he wrote it down immediately after the vision had ceased. There are two parts: the full text of the

prophetic part is given in the section *Nya* (*H* 164–69) and the ritual part is included in the section *Ta* (*H* 172–77) of the *rGya-can* volume.

197-6-4 H Tha, 180. Iron-ox year (1661), aged 45

On the 1st of the first month, the monks of the Namgyal College perform the ceremony of long life for the Dalai Lama in the Potala Palace, based on the *maṇḍala* of *Amitāyus* according to the northern textual tradition. During the two days that follow, the monks also perform the rite *mKha'-'gro bsu-zlog* for turning back the *bsun-ma*, a certain type of *ḍākiṇī* who usually come and lead away the sick and dying lamas.

During the rite, the Dalai Lama sees *Padmasambhava* who suddenly appears at the end of a long white cloud. The latter brandishes his *vajra* which then dissolves into the Dalai Lama's heart making him feel that it lights from the inside of his body and thus enables him to see the divinities of the *maṇḍala* of the deity *Drag-dmar*[23] in his heart. From the scorpion which is held as an attribute in one of the hands of the deity, there comes out an enormous scorpion which extends itself into all parts of the Dalai Lama's body. First it eats all the internal parts and then it emits flames from its mouth and the tips of its horns burning all the parts of his body that are left.

23 Plate 10.

Here in a parenthesis, the Dalai Lama states that he has recently been unwell and this was foreseen in a prophecy received in the earth-pig year (1659). He felt better after the vision and totally recovered a few months later.

After the vision, he again sights the *maṇḍala* before him and then receives various initiations from *Padmasambhava*. Then from the original *maṇḍala*, the white *Amitāyus* suddenly appears sprinkling water on the Dalai Lama's head and making him feel that his body is full with nectar.

On the 2nd, *rDo-rje gro-lod* appears, emitting flames from his body which burn the Dalai Lama's body and expel the obstructing spirits (*bgegs*) from the surroundings. He then feels that he himself has become *rDo-rje gro-lod*.

Here the Dalai Lama states that on the third day of the ceremony he received blessings from *rDo-rje gro-lod*, but no notes were taken down at the time. So now he was unable to write in detail about the vision which he had on that day.

199-2-3

In the sixth month, the Dalai Lama receives the initiations of various teachings from the *rNying-ma-pa* master *Khra-tshang-pa Blo-gros mchog-ldan* in the Temple of *Lokeśvara* and *Varti* in the Potala Palace. When he receives the empowerment initiation accoring to the ritual cycle of *mDo-dbang*, whose original source of transmission goes back to *Legs-ldan rdo-rje*, he has a clear vision of *Vajrapāṇi* from whom he receives various initiations. After the ceremony, *'Tsho-rgyal* appears, giving him a skull-cup full of nectar.

Here again the Dalai Lama states that he was unable to write in detail about this vision as no notes were taken down at the time.

On New Year's day, the Dalai Lama performs the atoning rite in honour of *dPal-ldan lha-mo*. As he renews the 'support' (*rten*) of the goddess, the sun rises and he begins to see the goddess riding on the rays of the sun with her retinue holding flags and banners, all looking exceedingly impressive. Finally they depart towards the east.

198-3-5 H Da, 190. Water-tiger year (1662), aged 46

Here also the Dalai Lama states that he could not write fully of this vision since no detailed notes were taken down immediately after the vision.

In the tenth month, the monks of the Namgyal College perform the ceremony of long life for the Dalai Lama. It is carried out at the request of *bSam-blo mi-rgan*. During the ceremony, *Amitābha* appears, displaying *Padmasambhava* in his heart. The latter changes himself into the deity *Drag-dmar* and then dissolves into the Dalai Lama's body within which the deity becomes a black scorpion eating some of the internal parts and finally burns the rest of the body with flames from its mouth and horns. The Dalai Lama then becomes conscious again and reverts to his former state. *'Tsho-rgyal* appears in the form of a *ḍākiṇī* adorned with bone ornaments and holding a vase. She sprinkles water on the Dalai Lama's head, making him feel that his body is full of water. At this moment, he sees the white *Amitāyus*, shining like snow in the sun, in his own heart. She gives him prophetic instructions concerning the events that might take place in the east, south and west, and particularly at Drepung monastery. The *ḍākiṇī* then turns into a black she-demon holding a sword. She beheads many people who look like Buddhist monks. She turns into *Tārā*, then into *Vajrayoginī* and finally dissolves into the Dalai Lama.

199-3-3

On the eleventh month, the monks of the Namgyal College perform the ceremony of long life for the Dalai Lama. He has a vision of a blue *Vajrapāṇi* holding a *vajra* in his right hand and makes the threatening gesture with the left hand, ejecting *garuḍa* birds from it. The deity is surrounded by four attendants who look like him except that their colours are white, yellow, red and green; they hold a wheel, a jewel, a lotus and a crossed-*vajra* in their hands. Finally they all dissolve into the Dalai Lama.

199-4-2

On the 20th of the twelfth month, the Dalai Lama makes offerings in front of the two images: *Lokeśvara* and *Varti*. During the prayer, *Mahākaruṇā* appears from the heart of the *Lokeśvara* image.

198-5-1 H Na, 198

In another vision, he sees an unknown place where there is a snowy mountain which resembles the Potala, the paradise of *Avalokiteśvara*. On the summit, a crystal mansion with one door is occupied by *Lokeśvara*. From the deity's heart, a white boy appears, with an antelope skin hanging down from his shoulders, and also the goddess *Khadiravanitārā*, in the form of a blue-green girl, clad in a costume of acacia leaves. Both appear to be eight-year old children, wearing turbans of flowers adorned with jewels.

After this vision, the Dalai Lama assembles the following images of *Padmasambhava* for a session of prayers:

1. *bSod-ṇams dpal-'bar* made by *'Tsho-rgyal.*
2. *Padma mthong-grol,* rediscovered by *Guru Chos-dbang.*
3. The images of *Rig-'dzin Nub-dgon-rje* and *Dran-mchog,* both made by *dBang-po-sde.*

As the Dalai Lama begins his prayers, *Padmasambhava* together with his attendants appear on a rainbow-path. *Padmasambhava* sprinkles water from his vase on the Dalai Lama's head, enabling him to see his own central psychic vein turn into an iron-vein in his ordinary body. At the top of the vein, there is the syllable *A* and at the bottom end, the syllable *HAM*. From his entourage, *'Tsho-rgyal,* in the form of a lady adorned with bone ornaments and looking very impressive, comes forth and gives prophetic instructions.

In another vision, *Padmasambhava* suddenly appears. On his right, the ritual objects for performing the empowerment ceremony, such as the vase, are laid out.[24] The Dalai Lama feels that *Padmasambhava* turns into the *yab-yum* form of *Vajrasattva*. This vision is followed by other visions of various aspects of *Amitāyus,* all in their *yab-yum* forms. They perform the empowerment ceremony for the Dalai Lama. During the ceremony, *'Tsho-rgyal* appears in the form of a white lady adorned with bone ornaments. She enters into union with him. The white and red *bodhicitta* flow to and fro: they produce in him the realization of the state of 'inexpressible Voidness'. On the same day, he also begins the ritual of longevity (*tshe-sgrub*).

On the 21st, after prayers to *Lokeśvara* and *Padmasambhava,* the Dalai Lama feels that the whole world is bathed in white light as a snow-field in the sun. Lights radiate from Mount Potala in the south towards the image of *Lokeśvara* transforming it into a white boy holding a crystal staff in his right hand. His left hand holds on to his garment close to his left thigh and then he utters some prophetic instructions.

This vision is followed by the appearance of *'Tsho-rgyal* who leads the Dalai Lama to a place where a red mountain can be seen. At its base, *Padmasambhava,* in the form of a *rakṣasa* demon with eleven heads, sits in the castle of *Laṅka* on a high throne. The castle is built with human skulls. He gives the Dalai Lama a jewel and then a mirror, saying: 'Look into it!' The Dalai Lama feels that he could see the whole world in it and especially Tibet. Then, going along a winding road, he arrives at the temple of *Zangs-mdog dpal-ri* where he immediately notices the ritual objects required in carrying out the empowerment ceremony[25] which is performed by *Padmasambhava* who urges the Dalai Lama to work for the peace of Tibet, and gives him indications concerning interference by the *dam-sri* spirits in the future.

In another vision, the Dalai Lama perceives *Lokeśvara* and *Khadiravani* bathed in light within an egg-shaped sphere, situated to

24 Plate 11 A.

25 Plate 11 B.

the north of Mount Potala, the paradise of *Avalokiteśvara*. *Lokeśvara* has the look of a white boy draped in a white cotton lower garment and *Tārā* has the form of a blue lady wearing a costume of acacia leaves. The lady utters prophetic words to the effect that offerings must be made in the ancient temples built during the royal period and golden roofs erected on them. Finally she says: 'Unless you pay attention to the prophetic instructions already given, there is not point in repeating them!'

In yet another vision, lights shine from all assembled images, uniting into one stream of light which contains *Hayagrīva*. The deity gets bigger and bigger, ejecting flames from his body as if to protect the Dalai Lama who now finds himself at the heart of the deity. In front of him he sees a yogin, who is supposed to be *Padmasambhava*, who also has the deity in his heart. In order to find out whether the yogin is real or false, the Dalai Lama meditates on his own *Hayagrīva* to overpower the yogin, but the latter becomes *Hayagrīva* at first and then reverts to his former state, ejaculating prophetic words which instruct that the Dalai Lama must perform the rites of *Yama* and *Hayagrīva*. The prophecy also indicates the outcome of the conflict in Kongpo.

Padmasambhava appears again in another vision. He foretells some events that will take place in the future. This short account of the vision is followed by another one in which *Lokeśvara* can be seen. From his heart King *Srong-btsan sgam-po* appears instructing the Dalai Lama on the need to make offerings to *Tārā* in *Yer-ba*.

After this vision, the Dalai Lama perceives an altar on which a skull-cup full of nectar, a *tsakali* and a *man-dal* are all set out.[26] Beside the altar, *'Tsho-rgyal*, wearing the Tibetan *ko-tho* head-dress, is seated. She, bestowing some spiritual instructions, offers him the skull-cup from which he drinks the nectar and experiences the realization of the non-duality of Bliss and Voidness. She then turns into the green *Tārā*, radiating from her heart all her eight aspects. Finally she disappears into a ball of green light which then dissolves into his own heart, but she instantly reappears in the form of *Vajrayoginī* giving instructions on how religious practices should be conducted in various sacred places. After this, the Dalai Lama transforms himself into *Hayagrīva* and then enters into union with *Vajrayoginī*. Finally, the yogini departs to *Zangs-mdog dpal-ri*. Then *Lokeśvara* shows himself shining as crystal and gives instructions on how to conduct rites in sacred places. He then turns into the syllable *HRI*, pure as crystal and emitting a sound which the Dalai Lama understands as containing prophecies.

26 Plate 11 C.

200-6-2 H Tha, 184

On the 26th, the Dalai Lama's composition of the text concerning the ritual cycle of *Drag-dmar*, which is first written on the *samṭa*, is completed and then copied on paper. That day all the sky is covered with rainbow clouds. After a while, when the multicoloured clouds begin to disperse, the Dalai Lama sees *Amitāyus*, who immediately turns into *Padmasambhava* holding a vase. The latter sprinkles water

on the Dalai Lama's head, cleansing him of his illnesses. He feels that a black liquid comes out of him and then his body becomes as transparent as crystal. *Padmasambhava* turns into *Buddhabhaiṣajyaguru*. From the bowl which is held by the Buddha flows nectar, filling the Dalai Lama's crystal-like body. The Buddha himself dissolves into the Dalai Lama.

Here in a parenthesis, the Dalai Lama states that at this time he was ill, but as soon as he had this vision his health was transformed like a snake changing its skin.

202-1-1 H Da, 191. Water-hare year (1663), aged 47

On New Year's day, the Dalai Lama performs the atoning rite in honour of *dPal-ldan lha-mo* in the Potala Palace. The goddess appears in her wrathful aspect coming from her residence, *Mu-le-ting* in the northeast. She sometimes rides on a mule. After displaying her various aspects, she appears again clad in a black costume, and holding a wooden tablet (*khram-shing*) and a lasso just as she appeared to him previously in the fire-dog year (1646). She binds many people with her lasso and then beheads them with her sword.

203-1-4 H Pa, 219

On the 8th, the monks of the Namgyal College perform the ceremony of long life for the Dalai Lama. During the ceremony, he perceives himself as the chief divinity *Amitāyus* in the *maṇḍala*. Later, *Hayagrīva* appears, holding a hammer in his right hand and a lasso in his left. He strikes the ground with his hammer, making the earth tremble as if it were going to split. He swallows up all the buildings. After this, the Dalai Lama, who has become *Amitāyus*, now also has a green horse-head on his own head like *Hayagrīva*, and so do all the other divinities in the *maṇḍala*. At the same time, the Dalai Lama feels that he enters into *Hayagrīva*'s belly through a narrow tunnel at the end of which *Padmasambhava* is seated in a circular red mansion, emitting lights in five different colours. Beside him, the items for carrying out the ceremony of empowerment, such as the skull-cup surmounted by a jewel, are displayed on an altar.[27] *Padmasambhava*, touching the five points of the Dalai Lama's body with the skull-cup which is full of nectar, gives it to him to drink. He is then introduced to a lady adorned with a diadem and they proceed to perform the empowerment ceremony. After this, *Padmasambhava* turns into *rDo-rje gro-lod* who ejects weapons and flames from his body removing all the hindrances. The deity then reverts to *Padmasambhava* holding a radiant and octagonal jewel with which he touches the Dalai Lama's head, saying prayers and uttering words of instructions, radiating rays of five different colours from his face. At the ends of the rays his eight aspects and other deities appear. The moon-seat of *Padmasambhava*'s jewel revolves with syllables of *mantra* and at the same time emits yellow lights in the form of wheel, lotus, *vajra*, jewel and crossed-*vajra*, which respectively enter into each of the five points of the Dalai Lama's body, forehead, neck, chest, navel and crutch. He then confers blessing on the Dalai Lama.

27 Plate 12 A.

In the course of the ceremony of long life, monks offer him the eight kinds of lucky signs and he begins to see in his vision two yogins who are supposed to be *gNubs Sangs-rgyas ye-shes* and *Legs-ldan rdo-rje*. Both are engaged in the performance of a violent rite.

Here the Dalai Lama states that this vision did not take a definite shape.

In another vision, he feels that he is back again in the mansion situated in *Hayagrīva*'s belly. Through an open door within the mansion, he arrives at a palace which seems to be *Zangs-mdog dpal-ri*. There sits *Karmaguru*, with *Mandarāvā*, in the form of a *ḍākiṇī* on his right, and *'Tsho-rgyal*, as an ordinary woman, on his left. They are engaged in the performance of a rite. They send away the messengers who summon demons in the form of Buddhist monks to be imprisoned in the triangular ritual receptacle. *Karmaguru* then thrusts his ritual dagger into their hearts.

202-5-4 H Pha, 228

On the 14th, the Dalai Lama gathers together some images of *Padmasambhava* in the Temple of *Lokeśvara* in the Potala Palace. After arranging offerings in front of them, he begins meditation on the assembly of lamas and divinities with *Tsong-kha-pa* in the centre (*tshogs-zhing*). He has a vision of *Cittaviśramana* and the thirty-five Buddhas: seven white in the east, seven yellow on the south, seven red in the west, seven green in the north, and seven blue in the centre.

In another vision, he sees *Vajrapāṇi* just below the seven blue Buddhas, as tall as two storeys. On his right, there is *Cittaviśramana* and on the left *Mañjuśrī*. He supplicates them to remove the long suffering of the six kinds of living beings, and particularly that of the Tibetan people. *Vajrapāṇi* then radiates messengers to summon some demons. He hits them on the chest with his *vajra*, conferring prophetic instructions on the means of bringing peace to the Tibetan people. All the thirty-five Buddhas and other divinities dissolve into *Vajrapāṇi* who then displays the deity *Dregs-pa kun-'dul* contained in his heart. *Vajrapāṇi* then becomes the principal deity in the *maṇḍala* of the ritual cycle of the deity.[28] At that moment, the *bKa'-gdams-pa* master, *lHo-brag Nam-mkha' rgyal-mtshan* (1326–1401) appears, conferring on him the empowerment initiation of the ritual cycle. Finally, all the deities and the *maṇḍala* itself dissolve into *lHo-brag's* heart. The latter then gives the Dalai Lama prophetic instructions on how to maintain the stability of the theocratic government of the *dGe-lugs-pa* sect. In the end, *lHo-brag* turns into light of five different colours and vanishes towards the south.

28 Plate 12 B.

In the evening of that day, the Dalai Lama says prayers to *Mahākaruṇā*. He feels that the world is illuminated with a white light. He sees a mansion with a golden roof situated on Mount Potala to the south. It is occupied by the deity. When he arrives in front of him, he perceives him radiating rays from his heart which relieve the suffering of living beings. Innumerable heavens of Buddhas are seen on various parts of the deity. A boy, clad in a lower garment made of cotton and

holding a crystal staff (i.e. *Lokeśvara*), suddenly appears in front of the deity. They confer with each other on the question of whether there would be any more holy men in Tibet. *Mahākaruṇā* tells the boy to show the Dalai Lama around. He first shows him a mirror in which the latter sees people who intend to make trouble for him and then leads him to visit the eight deities of the *bKa'-brgyad* cycle as well as *Manjuśrī*, *dPal-ldan lha-mo* and *Drag-po-rtsal* in the temple. Then they go back to *Mahākaruṇā* who gives a discourse on the merits obtained by reciting the six-syllable *mantra* and at the same time radiates lights from his heart, thus transforming the Dalai Lama's body into a mansion containing *Avalokiteśvara* with eleven heads.

205-3-4 On the 15th, the Dalai Lama practises meditation. *Padmasambhava*, in the form of the image *bSod-nams dpal-'bar*, appears. This is followed by the appearance of six yogins with six deities residing in their hearts:

1. *Hūṃkara*, the deity *Drag-po-rtsal*,
2. *Klu-sgrub*, *Hayagrīva*,
3. *'Jam-dpal bshes-gnyen*, *Yama*,
4. *Vimalamitra*, *mNgon-rdzogs*,
5. *Rong-bu Guhya*, *Dregs-pa*,
6. *Śāntigarbha*, *sTobs-ldan nag-po*.

In another vision, the Dalai Lama perceives a *maṇḍala*, made of lights of five colours, on which precious receptacles full of fruits and crystals are displayed for the purpose of the empowerment ceremony.[29] *Bla-ma rig-'dzin*, the principal deity of the ritual cycle, appears in the form of an eight-year old boy, conferring on the Dalai Lama the textual initiation of many volumes amongst which there is a volume of a text written in gold on a blue background. It directs crystal rays in five different colours to his heart which enables him to obtain the textual initiation, and finally he feels that his body disperses into a rainbow which arises from his heart.

29 Plate 13 A.

After this vision, the yogin *Pra-chen Hasti* appears displaying a host of the *Phur-pa* deities residing in his heart. The yogin gives him a ritual dagger. At this moment, the Dalai Lama feels that he himself has become the deity *Vajrakumāra* sending messengers to summon various *dam-sri* spirits.

In another vision, the Dalai Lama feels that he has arrived in an egg-shaped sphere which radiates rainbow-like lights. There he meets *Padmasambhava*, holding a *vajra* and a vase, with his consort *Mandarāvā* on his right and *'Tsho-rgyal* on his left, surrounded by many other *ḍākiṇīs*, all singing and dancing. *Padmasambhava* confers on him instructions concerning future events that are to take place mainly in Eastern Tibet, and then performs the ablution ritual which makes the Dalai Lama aware that he has become *rDo-rje gro-lod*. *'Tsho-rgyal* and *Mandarāvā* dissolve into one *ḍākiṇī* who becomes the partner in the empowerment ceremony. After the ceremony *Mandarāvā* appears again and confers on him instructions on meditation and finally she departs towards the west.

The Dalai Lama again has a vision in which he is led by *Mandarāvā* who is adorned with precious jewels and plays a hand-drum. They arrive in *Zangs-mdog dpal-ri* where the Dalai Lama notices the ritual articles for performing the empowerment ceremony consisting of a vase, a skull-cup, a mirror and a *torma*, arranged one on top of the other on an altar.[30] As she plays the hand-drum, *Padmasambhava* comes flying like a bird and then sits with his two consorts. *mTsho-skyes rdo-rje*, an aspect of *Padmasambhava* himself, suddenly appears in the *yab-yum* form in front of *Padmasambhava* himself and his two consorts. The Dalai Lama then receives from them the empowerment initiation of the deity *mTsho-skyes rdo-rje*. *Padmasambhava* further gives him prophetic instructions concerning the welfare of the Tibetan people. After this, *Padmasambhava*, turning himself into *Hayagrīva*, calls upon *gNyan-chen Thang-lha* who appears in the form of a white yak. *Padmasambhava*, handing over to the Dalai Lama the reins of the animal, says: 'This is how to subdue the evil spirits!'

30 Plate 13 B.

In another vision, a lady appears who has the look of a woman from *Mon* (Bhutan). The Dalai Lama wonders why this lady appears so often. She gives him prophetic instructions concerning his life and then, offering him a skull-cup full of blood (*rakta*), she vanishes into a rainbow pointing towards the south-west.

After this, King *Srong-btsan sgam-po*, with his Nepalese and Chinese wives, appears in a white cloud. The king says that the ritual cycles for realization of the three protectors, namely *Avalokiteśvara*, *Mañjuśrī* and *Vajrapāṇi* must be carried out in *Pha-bong-kha* in order to bring welfare to Tibet.

206-2-5 H Da, 192

On the 7th of the third month, the preparation for the great propitiation rite, which takes place on the 8th, begins. The Dalai Lama wonders whether he should use the text written by *gNyan Lo-tsā-ba* (*Dar-ma-gras*) or the one by *Tshar-chen Blo-gsal rgya-mtsho* for offering to *Mahākāla* his personal attributes. He thinks that perhaps he should compose a new text by himself. At that moment, a crow lands just above the window of his chamber in the Potala Palace. It sings and moves about stretching and spreading its wings for a considerable time (the bird is associated with the deity). *Khra-tshang-pa Blo-gros mchog-ldan*, who is then in the Potala requests the Dalai Lama to compose a new text. As the latter begins to write, the bird flies away and he thinks that it is a sign from the religious protector who also wishes for a new text by him.

On the 8th, the ritual for the propitiation to *Mahākāla* begins. The Dalai Lama states that the chief deity did not appear. Instead, the *Brahman Mahākāla* came in a vision in his full attire, holding a bone trumpet and a skull-cup. At the same time the teacher *Tshar-chen* also appears wearing a long-topped *Sa-skya-pa* hat and carrying a *vajra* and bell in his hands. The teacher, bringing together the forefingers of the protector and that of the Dalai Lama, utters words to the effect that the protector is to obey all the orders from the Dalai Lama. During the

same ritual, other types of *Mahākāla*, *Putra ming-sring* and *Beg-tse* also appear.

207-3-5 H Ka, 35

On the 15th, the Dalai Lama takes the image of *Lokeśvara* with him in order to go into retreat in the chamber *mNgon-dga'* in the Ganden Palace in Drepung. He begins his meditation with the recitation of the six-syllable *mantra*. One day, he has a clear vision of the three protectors: *Avalokiteśvara*, *Mañjuśrī* and *Vajrapāṇi*. One evening, after the retreat, *Rāhula* appears in his vision. The deity looks as small as one foot tall and disappears towards the west.

207-4-1

On the 7th of the fourth month, the assembly of the monks in Drepung performs the ceremony of long life for the Dalai Lama. During the ceremony, the Dalai Lama feels that his throne becomes a crossed-*vajra*.

207-4-2

On the 20th, the Lama (*Padma 'phrin-las*, 1640–1718) of the *rDo-rje-brag* monastery performs the ritual of longevity for the Dalai Lama in the chamber *Nyi-'od* in the Potala Palace. In the course of the ritual, the Dalai Lama sees in his vision *Amitāyus* and his consort who finally dissolve into the Dalai Lama himself.

207-4-5

On the 22nd, *sMan-lung-pa Blo-gros mchog-gi rdo-rje* and his disciples perform the ritual of longevity for the Dalai Lama. The chief deity of the ritual cycle appears as tall as one storey of a house.

206-5-2

Here the Dalai Lama states that he had no visions from the 23rd of the fourth month of water-hare year (1663) until the 10th of the second month of water-mouse year (1672), that is, for ten years from the age of forty-seven to fifty-six.

206-5-3 H Ba, 259. Water-mouse year (1672), aged 56

On the 11th of the second month, the monks of the Namgyal College perform the ceremony of long life for the Dalai Lama in the main hall of the Potala Palace focusing upon the *maṇḍala* of *Amitāyus*. The ceremony is borne financially by the choir-master *Blo-bzang yon-tan*.

When the Dalai Lama is offered the eight auspicious symbols during the ceremony, he sees in the sky the *maṇḍala* of the deity *Klu-gnyan kun-'dul*, a form of *Hayagrīva*.[31] Beside the *maṇḍala*, a yogin confers on him the empowerment initiation of the deity. The yogin performs, amongst other rites, the subduing of various spirits, such as the *Nāgas* and the *gNyan*. He binds the Dalai Lama with a ritual cord and then performs the purificatory rite making various offerings, such as milk to the *Nāgas* and other spirits; he uses the peacock feather for sprinkling water. (At the end of the ritual, the cord is usually cut symbolizing freedom from the discontent of the *Nāgas*.)

The yogin changes into *Legs-ldan rdo-rje* who in turn imparts the empowerment initiation of the deity *Nāgarakṣa 'og-gdon mthar-byed*,[32] a form of *Mañjuśrī*, which empowers the Dalai Lama to be immune

31 Plate 14.

32 Plate 15.

from the malefic actions of the *Nāgas* and other spirits. He is then urged to recite the six-syllable *mantra* and perform the rite of the deity *Yang-gsang drag-po*.

Legs-ldan rdo-rje finally changes into *Mahākaruṇā* making the gesture of bestowal with his right hand and holding a white lotus in his left hand. In his eyes, the eight kinds of Bodhisattvas can be seen like the reflection in a mirror. From his gesture of bestowal flows nectar onto the Dalai Lama's head, cleansing his defilement which is expelled from his body like smoked liquid. *Mahākaruṇā* then leads him along a white path to a citadel with a roof made of precious materials built on a high mountain. He thinks that the place is Potala, the residence of *Avalokiteśvara*. In the citadel he meets a white man holding a crystal rosary, i.e. *Cittaviśramana*, whose chest is covered with an antelope skin. He utters prophetic words which, however, the Dalai Lama cannot make out.

From the 15th of the ninth month, the Dalai Lama enters into a retreat in the Potala Palace. He practises meditation formulated by *Nyi-zla 'od-zer*, alias *Legs-ldan rdo-rje*. The latter appears clad in a white garment on top of blue underwear and a paṇḍita hat with a feather on the top. He holds a rosary in his right hand and a ritual dagger in his left. He sits on a throne covered with yak skin. He instantly turns into *rDo-rje gro-lod* and then utters some prophetic words. At that moment, an ugly woman arrives wearing a dress made of woven yak hair. She is at the head of a host of demons. Out of the gathering, a red man and a she-demon come forth holding the fresh heart and lungs of a man whom they have killed at the entrance of a temple in a village. (The significance of this vision is not explained.)

208-1-5 H Ma, 272

On the 16th, the Dalai Lama meditates upon *rDo-rje gro-lod* who manifests to him. In front of the deity, he sees the blue *Amitāyus* with three heads and six arms embraced by his consort, also blue. After performing the ritual of ablution, *Amitāyus* dissolves into a rainbow which in turn disappears into the Dalai Lama himself. After a while, *rDo-rje gro-lod* also dissolves into the Dalai Lama making him become a giant *rDo-rje gro-lod* with a ritual triangular receptacle in front of him. Scorpions and other animals resembling fish are driven out of the Dalai Lama's body and burned in the receptacle. (Here the Dalai Lama states that he had trouble with his knees for two days, but he felt better after the vision.)

208-2-3

In another vision, *Legs-ldan rdo-rje* appears, looking splendid in his old age. He performs the ablution by sprinkling water out of his vase. The Dalai Lama feels that blood, pus and all kinds of small beings are washed away from the interior of his body. In prophetic instructions, *Legs-ldan rdo-rje* points out the earlier errors in the Dalai Lama's conduct and urges him to recite the *mantra* of *rDo-rje gro-lod*. He finally dissolves into lights and then disappears into the Dalai Lama's own heart.

In another vision, *Lokeśvara* appears, radiating like crystal. The Dalai Lama receives from him prophetic instructions concerning the duration of the *dGe-lugs-pa* sect's establishment. *Lokeśvara* then dissolves into the Dalai Lama causing him to become *Cittaviśramana*. At this moment, *'Tsho-rgyal*, in the form of a woman from *Mon*, comes forward out of the west. Among other instructions, she tells him to use the image *Padma mthong-grol* of *Padmasambhava* rediscovered by *Nyang-ral Nyi-ma 'od-zer* as the support for his prayers.

The Dalai Lama brings out the image and begins to do as he was instructed. In his vision the image turns into *Vajradhara* with his consort. Beside the deity, he sees a vase and other ritual items of the empowerment ceremony in which he then participates.[33] (Here the Dalai Lama remarks that whoever uses this image as support for meditation will have good results.)

33 Plate 16.

Vajradhara changes into *Padmasambhava* with *'Tsho-rgyal* beside him. Then *Padmasambhava* radiates lights from his heart to summon the religious protector *Beg-tse* and his retinue from his residence, *Ma-ru-rtse*, in the northeast. At this moment, the Dalai Lama imagines himself as *Hayagrīva*. *Padmasambhava* entrusts the religious protector to *Hayagrīva* (i.e. the Dalai Lama) as an attendant, and then tells the Dalai Lama that his health problem will be solved if he prays to *Buddhabhaiṣajyaguru*. *'Tsho-rgyal* also advises him to be strict about his religious vows and be vigilant about the people who have broken their vow (*dam-sel*). After offering a skull-cup full of nectar to him, she departs to *rNga-yab-gling*, the paradise of *Padmasambhava*, and the latter himself dissolves into the image.

208-5-2 On the 18th, the Dalai Lama begins to practise the rite of *rDo-rje gro-lod* as he was instructed in his earlier visions. First he assembles the following sacred images, particularly those of *Padmasambhava* and his other aspects:

1. *Padma bdud-'dul*,
2. *Vajradhara* made of pipal wood (*byang-chub shing*) and rediscovered by *Nyang-ral Nyi-ma 'od-zer* in a royal tomb in *'Phyong-rgyas*,
3. *Padma mthong-grol* rediscovered by *Guru Chos-dbang*,
4. *Padma mthong-grol* rediscovered by *Ratna gling-pa*,
5. *'Gro-ba kun-'dul*, an image of *'Tsho-rgyal* also rediscovered by *Ratna gling-pa* in *Brag-dmar ri-mo-can*.
6. *Me-rlung 'khyil-ba*, an image of the deity *Drag-dmar*, rediscovered by *Padma gling-pa* (1450–1521) in *Brag seng-ge khyi-cog*,
7. *Rigs-'dus brda'-dbang lnga-pa* rediscovered by *'Phrang-mgo Shes-rab 'od-zer*,
8. *Padma bdud-'dul* rediscovered by *gTer-bdag gling-pa* (1646–1714) in *g.Ya'-ma-lung*.

After preparing offerings in front of the images, the Dalai Lama begins to practise meditation and the recitation of the *mantra* of *rDo-rje*

gro-lod. He begins to have visions of the *maṇḍala* of the deity in the sky.[34] *'Tsho-rgyal,* dressed in Tibetan style, leads him into the enclosure of the *maṇḍala* and arrives at the eastern door where *Mandarāvā* joins *'Tsho-rgyal* in performing the ablution ceremony for the Dalai Lama. The latter then receives the empowerment initiation. At the third stage of the initiation, several *dam-sri* spirits are caught in the triangular receptacle for liberation. After receiving the fourth stage of the initiation in which the disciple is introduced to his own mind by means of a crystal (*rig-pa'i rtsal-dbang*), *Ba-gor Vairocana* in the form of a *paṇḍita* introduces him to the Great Perfection (*rDzogs-chen*) meditation. He touches the Dalai Lama's head with many volumes of books devoted to the meditative teaching, all written in gold on crystal. All the deities and the *maṇḍala* dissolve into the Dalai Lama himself.

34 Plate 18.

In another vision, a lady, looking like a *yoginī* and adorned with jewels, appears playing a hand-drum with her right hand. She confers on him prophetic instructions and the Dalai Lama realizes that the *yoginī* is *Mandarāvā.*

rDo-rje gro-lod suddenly appears and begins to give him instruction on how to draw the *cakras* and designates the Dalai Lama as the master of the teaching, but vanishes before completing the instructions.

209-6-2

On the 19th, *Padmasambhava* clad in a yellow costume and a yellow hat appears sitting in the manner of *Maitreya* and holding a vase with both his hands. He takes up the instructions of *rDo-rje gro-lod* which were left unfinished in the previous vision. *Padmasambhava* then turns into *Amitāyus* who performs the ablution for the Dalai Lama and confers on him the empowerment initiation beside a *maṇḍala* made of a lotus with eight petals on which a vase and other ritual articles are displayed for the purpose of the ceremony.[35] After this, the Dalai Lama feels that he travels towards the west along a white path and arrives in a mansion, sphere-shaped like the belly of a crystal vase. There he meets *Lokeśvara* holding a lotus in his right hand and a crystal staff in his left. His chest is covered with an antelope skin and his body is gloriously bright. He gives a prophetic discourse on the religious and political situation in China, Mongolia, Nepal and Bhutan. After this, the Dalai Lama feels that he has arrived on the summit of a high, crystal *stūpa* with the deity. He sees in the east many houses occupied by people with two heads and four arms who dance about; in the south, there is a great fire with flames reaching to the heavens from the middle of a forest; in the west, at the foot of a high rock, a torrential water jet above which a turquoise girl is bathing herself; in the north, a creature with a human body but with a yak's head takes out its own heart and weeps as it looks at it; on the golden roofs in Lhasa, a monkey wearing a yellow hat sometimes laughs and sometimes cries and finally departs for Drepung. The Dalai Lama asks *Lokeśvara* for the significance of the sights, but the deity does not reply. They both instantly return to the Potala Palace.

35 Plate 17.

210-2-1 H Tsa, 309 In the evening of the 19th of the ninth month, the Dalai Lama is aware that his body has transformed itself into an unknown dark brown bird, bigger than a normal raven. As it flies towards the southwest over a sea, it finds no place to land, but eventually arrives in a three-storeyed temple, supposed to be the palace of *Laṅka*, situated on a mountain in the middle of an expansive plain. A glorious yogin with a dark-brown complexion, clad in a white robe, meets him. The Dalai Lama feels that he is no longer in the form of the bird. The yogin shows him a white scroll. He realizes that it contains prophetic instructions, particularly about the ritual cycle of the deity *Yang-gsang drag-po*, and by whom, when and where the ritual cycle would be put into practice. He then receives the full instructions on the *cakras* which were not mentioned when he received instructions in the teaching in iron-mouse year (1660). He realizes that the yogin is a manifestation of *dBang-po-sde*.

211-2-5 H Ma, 298 On the 20th of the ninth month, *Padmasambhava* and his entourage appear. An exceedingly handsome youth wearing a turquoise diadem, clad in a white silk dress and adorned with precious ornaments gives the Dalai Lama prophetic instructions, but he has difficulty in understanding. Finally the youth bursts into laughter 'ha ha ha!', shaking his head, and riding on a white horse he disappears. The Dalai Lama felt that it was *gNyan-chen Thang-lha*.

In the same vision, *Avalokiteśvara* in the form of a white youth holding a crystal rosary and staff, and wearing a cotton lower-garment, comes out of *Padmasambhava*'s heart. He gives various prophetic instructions concerning the sacred places where the early kings and *Padmasambhava* had resided, the restoration of the temples built by the kings, the importance of inviting Buddhist tantrists to perform the rituals which can ward off all evils and the need to invite Bonpos often to carry out rituals which ensure the prosperity of the country. (The youth is unidentified, but obviously meant to be *Lokeśvara*.) He finally recedes back into *Padmasambhava*'s heart. The Dalai Lama then regains earthly consciousness without being able to tell what has become of *Padmasambhava* who had stayed on in the vision for a considerable time.

Here the Dalai Lama states that he is after all very pleased to realize the fact that he constantly receives blessings from the three 'roots', namely, his teachers, tutelary deities, and *ḍākiṇīs*.

Here the work ends with an epilogue of seven stanzas of four lines each. They serve to justify its writing:

211-3-3 (105b)

Tender shoots, and agreeable words,
Garlands of *utpala* lotuses, and fine meanings,
These may ravish the hearts of young girls, and conceited learned men,
But what is the use of a chattering discourse on delusive visions?

With the yeast of compassion of the three 'roots',
The ale of blessing is well fermented in me,
Having drunk so much of it, I was crazy to sing strange songs.
Understand them if you can.

It is not that I claim this work of mine is good,
But it is honest enough to express what actually occurred to me.
I recorded it naturally and without fraud,
As much as whatever my mind could grasp.

Let the lamas and tutelary deities stand witness,
It is important that one is not ashamed.
I, the humble one, have this principle of confidence.
I recorded (these visions) believing that they may be beneficial to myself and others.

Some, being embarrassed (on reading them), will use the weapon of critical words,
But I will be as calm and aloof as I possibly can.
Those whose karmic propensity awakens will dance,
For them, it will be a counsel for now and ever.

May I myself and those who have a strong inclination,
To record their roaming in the Pure Lands,
By that merit, enjoy good fortune, in coming rebirths,
And reach the highest peak of countless and astonishing wonderlands.

The flowing melody of divine beings, secret spells and wisdom,
At play echoes freely through my body, speech and mind,
Vibrating in the auspicious vase, my vocal chords,
May this melody pervade the spacious realm of the three worlds!

The verses are followed by a colophon which is translated in full below:

'I, Vandya of *Za-hor*, composed *Visions and their Significance*, being a record of the illusory visions mostly excerpted from the main volume of the "Sealed One", with alterations where its composition was too clumsy or vague. It was written at the behest of the choir-master *Blo-bzang yon-tan*, the chief sacristan *Ngag-dbang shes-rab*, the scribe *'Jam-dbyangs grags-pa* and the tantrist *A-gur* of *gZhis-ka shar-pa*. They specially requested me to write it in a way that can be easily understood. The work was completed on the 14th of the sixth month, the day on which the Buddha turned his Wheel of Law, in the water-ox year (1673), at the great palace of the Red Mount. The scribe was *'Jam-dbyangs* (*grags-pa*) who wrote it on the *samṭa* from which *gNas-btsun 'Jam-dbyangs bstan-'dzin* copied it out on paper. At the same time, *Guru rTa-mgrin* of *gZhis-ka shar-pa* made the drawings and paintings. I carefully checked the text (of the gold manuscript) and the artist's drawings (in the gold manuscript). Copied twice' (i.e. first written on *samṭa* from the Dalai Lama's dictation and then fair-copied on paper from which draft in turn the gold manuscript was prepared). *211-4-3*

Text II (pp. 212 ff.)

Title: *sGyu-ma'i kheng-'phrog* /
The Seizure of the Pride of Illusions.

213-1-3 H Tsha, 319. Water-ox year (1673), aged 57

On the 1st of the twelfth month, at the request of the Regent *Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho* (1653–1703), the monks of the Namgyal College perform the ceremony of long life for the Dalai Lama in the main hall of the Potala Palace. In the course of the ceremony, the Dalai Lama sees in a vision the white *Tārā*. On her right, there manifests the goddess *Bhrikutī* and on her left the green *Tārā*. These goddesses perform the ablution for the Dalai Lama.

After this vision, *gNas-gsar mGon-po bsod-nams mchog-ldan* (1603–59) appears in the form of a monk holding a *vajra* and bell and carries out the empowerment ceremony of *Tārā* for the Dalai Lama, who sees also *Padmasambhava* and his two consorts in the same continuous vision. Beside them, *Hayagrīva* appears in the form of a most splendid tantric deity. *Padmasambhava* then performs the empowerment ceremony of this deity. *Zur* also appears in the same vision in the form of a monk with *Vajrapāṇi* on his left. This vision is followed by yet another one in which the Dalai Lama sees *Buddhabhaiṣajyaguru* surrounded by yogins.

214-5-2

During the morning of the 4th of the twelfth month, the Dalai Lama recites the *mantra* of the white *Tārā* and takes up meditation on the goddess who appears with *Bhrikutī*, on her right, and *Khadiravani*, on her left, in their most splendid paradise.

During the afternoon of the same day, the Dalai Lama arranges various offerings in front of the image of *Padmasambhava* known as *Padma bdud-'dul* which was recovered by *Nyang-ral Nyi-ma 'od-zer* from *Sham-po-gangs*. As the Dalai Lama begins to recite the *mantra* of the deity *Thod-'phreng-rtsal*, an aspect of *Padmasambhava*, he sees in a vision *mGon-po bsod-nams mchog-ldan* who looks exactly the same as in the vision on the previous day. On his left *Zur* also appears as before. The latter looks towards the southwest, indicating that the Dalai Lama should go to *Zangs-mdog dpal-ri*. He arrives there and sees various divinities, such as *Che-mchog* and *Nāro mkha'-spyod*. *Padma-sambhava* performs the empowerment ceremony of *Hayagrīva*. In the same vision, more divinities appear: *Drag-dmar* and *Phur-pa* followed by *'Tsho-rgyal* who gives him prophetic instructions.

216-3-5 H Dza, 344

On the 11th of the twelfth month, *Padma 'phrin-las*, the reincarnation of *Byang-bdag Rig-'dzin*, performs the ritual of purification (*grib-sel*), the ritual of longevity (*tshe-sgrub*) and the ritual for turning back the *bsun-ma*, a kind of *ḍākiṇī* (whose presence is a sign of the death of a lama). While these rituals proceed, the Dalai Lama has a vision of *mTsho-skyes rdo-rje*, a form of *Padmasambhava* with a green horse-head on the crown of his head. On the left of the deity, *dBang-po-sde* and on

the right *Rig-'dzin Ngag-gi dbang-po* (1580–1639) are to be seen. *dBang-po-sde*, wearing his black hat and holding a ritual dagger in his hands, performs a most awesome and wrathful dance which turns away the *bsun-ma*. After this, instead of holding the dagger the dancer now holds a ritual arrow for the performance of the ritual of longevity. The dancer is now accompanied on his right by the incarnation of *Yol-mo* (*bsTan-'dzin phrin-las*), clad in a white robe with his locks hanging down at the back, and counting a rosary. On his left is *Zur* in the form of a monk wearing a paṇḍita hat. They all perform the ritual of longevity. Finally, all the deities and lamas dissolve into *dBang-po-sde*.

On the 18th of the twelfth month, *gTer-bdag gling-pa* (1646–1714) performs the empowerment ceremony of the deity *'Jam-dpal gshin-rje 'joms-byed* and the ritual of longevity for the Dalai Lama in the Potala Palace. In the course of the ceremonies, the latter has a vision in which he sees *Padmasambhava* with his two consorts and *Lo-chen Vairocana*. *216-5-5*

On the 10th of the seventh month, *sGyid-thang Nor-bu* requests the performance of the ceremony of long life, during which time the Dalai Lama has various visions of the five Buddha families in a white *stūpa*. *219-1-5 H Va, 350. Iron-monkey year (1680), aged 64*

On the 11th, *g-Yon-ru* requests the same ceremony as on the previous day and the Dalai Lama sees in his vision an unidentified spirit. *219-2-1*

On the 12th, the abbot of *sNar-thang* monastery requests again the performance of the same ceremony. During this ceremony, the Dalai Lama has a vision in which the *Phur-pa* deity and his retinue appear. *Padmasambhava* also appears giving him the empowerment initiation of the deity, and *'Tsho-rgyal* tells him that the deity is especially effective in dealing with the *dam-sri* spirits. *219-2-2*

On the 13th, the same ceremony is again requested by *Blo-bzang dpal-'byor*. The Dalai Lama has a vision of *'Tsho-rgyal* in Tibetan dress. In her heart, he can see the *maṇḍala* of the *Phur-pa* deity and, on other parts of her body, the deities of the *bKa'-brgyad* cycle. An unidentified old yogin performs the empowerment ceremony of the *Phur-pa* deity for the Dalai Lama. *218-5-4*

On the 26th, the same ceremony is again requested by *sNgags-ram-pa dGa'-gdong* for the Dalai Lama who has a vision of the goddess *Candali* and five other *ḍākiṇīs* including *'Tsho-rgyal*. They dance and sing with the words: '*Phur-pa* is the essence of all tutelary deities!' At that moment, the Dalai Lama himself becomes *mTsho-skyes rdo-rje* with the *Phur-pa* deity residing in his heart. *221-1-1*

Translation of the colophon:

'This was written as an appendix to the Sections *Tsha* (*H* 317–41), *Dza* (*H* 343–48) and *Va* (*H* 349–63) of the "Sealed Volume" as the *220-2-2*

visions were not previously fully recorded in them. It was completed on the 25th of the first month when *ḍākiṇīs* gather together, in the water-bird year (1693). The scribe was *'Jams-dbyangs grags-pa*. The artist *Blo-bzang dbang-po* copied it on paper.'

This colophon contains statements which do not correspond to the historical facts and which have already been discussed (see p. 17).

Text III (p. 220)

The *mantras* of *dPal-ldan-lha-mo*'s four attendants known as *Las-bzhi'i lha-mo*, 'the four goddesses of action', to be inscribed in the *cakras*. The work is an appendix to the teaching contained in section *Ka* (*H* 16–17) of the *rGya-can* and received from *dBang-po-sde* in a vision recounted in Text I (p. 31). It is signed with the name *Za-hor ban-de*, i.e. the Fifth Dalai Lama (see p. 65).

Text IV (p. 224)

A short iconographical description of the four goddesses of action who are in fact only different aspects of *dPal-ldan lha-mo* herself:

Name	Quarter	Colour	Attribute	Support (*rten*)
Zhi'i lha-mo (Aspect for tranquillity)	east	white	mirror + silver container	wheel
rGyas-pa'i lha-mo (Aspect for prosperity)	south	yellow	golden vase + bowl	mirror
dBang-gi lha-mo (Aspect for subjugation)	west	red	hook + noose	dice
Drag-po'i lha-mo (Aspect for violence)	north	black	wooden tablet	arrow

TEXT V (p. 224)

Instructions on the preparation of the ritual of the four goddesses of action.

Text VI (p. 226)

Instructions on how to perform the empowerment ceremony of the four goddesses of action.

Text VII (p. 226)

Instructions on how to perform the rite of *dPal-ldan lha-mo* in her wrathful aspect and the empowerment initiation of the 'vital force' (*srog*) and 'liberation' (*bsgral-ba*).

Text VIII (p. 228)

Instructions on the method of making the *gtor-ma* offerings (hereafter *torma*) representing *dPal-ldan lha-mo* and her four aspects.

Type	Shape	Colour	Symbol	Colour of the syllable	Outer decoration
Zhi-ba	round	white	mirror	white	flower
rGyas-pa	square	yellow	vase	yellow	jewel
dBang	crescent	red	hook	red	lotus
Drag-po	triangular	blue	stick + skull-cup	blue	flame

Each of these *torma* has two types: *rten-gtor*, i.e. *torma* representing the deity, and *rgyun-gtor* which is essentially a *torma* for offering to the deity. For illustrations, see p. 127. The *rten-gtor* normally contains a '*cakra* of the soul-stone' (*bla-rdo'i srog-'khor*) of the deity whereas the *rgyun-gtor* does not.

The fourth type of *torma*, the *Drag-po*, has three categories slightly different from each other in their appearance: *gTso-mo* representing *dPal-ldan lha-mo* herself, *Drag-po*, her wrathful aspect, and *gSang-sgrub* representing her in another wrathful aspect. Each of these three also has the *rten-gtor* and *rgyun-gtor* types.

Text IX (p. 228)

Instructions on how to draw various *cakras* of the four goddesses of action.

1. A general *cakra* containing the *mantra* of the four goddesses (Plate 30, No. 1).
2. One *cakra* for each of the four aspects of the goddess (Plate 30, Nos. 4, 9, 13; Plate 31, No. 1).
3. *cakra* for protection (*srung-'khor*) from harmful spirits (Plate 31, No. 6).
4. *cakra* for healing diseases (Plate 31, No. 22).
5. *cakra* for increasing prosperity (Plate 31, No. 33).
6. *cakra* for longevity (Plate 32, No. 1).
7. *cakra* for subjugation (Plate 32, No. 12).
8. *cakra* for turning away malefic spirits (Plate 32, No. 32).

Text X (p. 230)

Instructions on how to draw the *liṅga* used in 'violent rites' (*las-sbyor*) of the four goddesses for suppressing the *dam-sri* spirits (Plate 34).

Text XI (p. 230)

Short instructions on how to draw several types of *liṅga* for the practice of the ritual act of quelling (Plate 36) and the rite of 'hurled offerings' (*gtor-zor*) (Plate 37).

Text XII (p. 230)

Detailed instructions on how to draw various types of *cakra*.

Text XIII (p. 232)

Instructions on how to perform the rite for exhorting the four goddesses of action and using the *cakras*.

Text XIV (p. 234)

Manual for the practice of the ritual acts for hurling and quelling.

Text XV (p. 234)

Detailed instructions on the meditation and procedure of the rite which impels the four goddesses of action to take action.

Text XVI (p. 236)

Instructions on how to perform the rite of consecration for the *cakras* drawn on paper or other substances.

THE GOLD MANUSCRIPT ILLUSTRATIONS

The illustrations of *maṇḍalas* and assemblages of ritual articles in the Gold Manuscript are intended to depict (*dpe-ris*) the ritual paraphernalia that is a part of the preparation (*bca'-gzhi*) for the religious ceremonies performed either in private or in public. There are five groups of illustrations. Each group is designated by either a general term or the name of a divinity in the margin of the folio to indicate that the objects drawn belong to the ritual for that particular divinity. Each group is composed of several illustrations. Each of these illustrations has a separate title informing the reader in which part of the *rGya-can* the particular ceremony is described.

In each illustration the number of the objects drawn varies; one may have as many as thirty-eight objects and quite often the same objects are drawn elsewhere since they are commonly required in many types of rituals. There are altogether about 886 separate drawings.

The present work reproduces the five groups of illustrations on fifty-five plates. Among the illustrations there are a number of *maṇḍalas*, *cakras* and *liṅgas* which are important features of esoteric rituals.

The term *maṇḍala* signifies primarily a notion of cosmology. It is translated into Tibetan in the ninth century A.D. by *dkyil-'khor*, 'concentric circle' and has ever since a special connotation: mystic, ritual and sacred sphere as well as having symbolical significance of universe. The *maṇḍala* plays an important role in tantric rituals in Hinduism, especially in Śaiva schools and in Buddhism, particularly in Tibetan Buddhism and Shingon, the Japanese esoteric Buddhism.

In rituals, it represents the divine residence, mentally created in accordance with the specifications prescribed in ritual texts, but it can also be made with materials either on the temporary or permanent basis within the ritual premises. It can be a painting or made of coloured sand or a three-dimensional construction.

Just as its symbolic significance varies from one tradition to another, its philosophical interpretation also differs from one particular tantric cycle to another within one school. However, its principal function lies in the notion of a mystic place where the officiating

master communicates with the principal divinity and where the neophyte is admitted in order to receive the empowerment initiation. It is in this sacred sphere where the divinities are invoked to come down from their celestial residence, offered meals, made to listen to confession and requested to give blessings. However, on another level, the mystic himself takes the place of the principal divinity in the *maṇḍala*. In this state, which is beyond the spatio-temporal delimit and where one was at the beginning of existence, the unity of all dichotomic notions, such as *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*, oneself and the other, and subject and object, are realized in himself and his divine residence symbolizes the reintegration of microcosm and macrocosm.

The word *cakra* (often transliterated into Tibetan as *tsa-kra*) is translated by *'khor-lo*, 'wheel'. The Tibetan term can also mean any circular object and so the psychic wheels in yoga meditation. Just as the outer concentric circles of a *maṇḍala* are symbols of protective rim, so the word *cakra* came to designate a diagram of concentric circles used, as will be seen, for various ritual purposes, especially for protection from noxious spirits. The Tibetan word for this is *srung-'khor*, 'wheel for protection'. While one type of *cakra* is identical in their shape and function to that of a *maṇḍala*, others are simply concentric circles often containing a human figure with an animal head in the centre and *mantras* written in clockwise in the centre and outer rims (Plate 38). The *mantras* contain names of deities beseeching them for protection from noxious spirits who are represented by the central figure.

The difference between a *cakra* and a *maṇḍala* is that the *maṇḍala* is essentially a divine palace whereas *cakra* is some sort of 'magic circle'. Also, a *cakra* is often drawn—if it is a protective one—on paper, folded and enclosed in a charm box (*ga'u*) and worn as an amulet.

The term *liṅga* is translated into Tibetan by *mtshan* or *rtags*, 'mark', 'sign' in the ninth century. However, when the Sanskrit term itself is used, it came to mean in tantric rituals a human figure symbolizing one's passions (*nyon-mongs*, *kleśa*), the root of *saṃsāra*. In order to liberate oneself or others from *saṃsāra*, the neophyte is advised to go through various stages of meditation which enable him to cast off his passions by destroying symbolically the *liṅga*.

This notion of *liṅga* is further developed in tantric rituals where it often symbolizes the enemy of the doctrine (*bstan-dgra*). To liberate the enemy of the doctrine through compassion and lead his consciousness to a better existence is one of the most important vows to be taken in tantric empowerment initiations.

A *liṅga* can be made of barley dough or drawn on cotton or paper for the ritual purpose in which it is often symbolically destroyed through a ritual dance. A *liṅga* can also be contained in *cakras* (see Plate 40, Nos. 5, 6).

Maṇḍalas and other subjects are often drawn on the face of two, three or four parallel folios in the Gold Manuscript so that on one folio there is only half of the subject. Most of the illustrations here are

reproductions of such diptychs, triptychs and tetraptychs set together in order to compose the whole picture.

The ritual objects drawn often have inscriptions either just below or beside them. The inscriptions contain either the actual name of the object—in which case it helps to identify it—or explanations of its function in a particular ritual without giving the name of the object itself. In these cases, the identification in some places remains uncertain, particularly, for example, when it is a liquid or grass, plant, grain, fruit or berries contained within a receptacle.

The five groups of illustrations are arranged consecutively (Group I excepted) in the order found in the manuscript under the following headings:

1. *rGya-can spyi*	17 illus.
2. *Gro-lod*	6 illus.
3. *dMag-zor*	17 illus.
4. *Khams-gsum zil-gnon*	7 illus.
5. *Karma drag-po*	13 illus.

Group I (*rGya-can spyi*, 17 illustrations, Plates 1–17)

This group of illustrations is entitled *rGya-can spyi*, 'that which is common to the Sealed Volume'. However, each illustration in fact consists of ritual articles needed, as will be seen, in a particular ceremony. They depict ritual objects that might be used in the empowerment initiation of twenty-three different ritual cycles.

These illustrations were found placed towards the end of the others despite the fact that they are directly connected with the visionary experiences summarily described in the main work (Text I) of the Gold Manuscript. It is because of this connection that I have preferred to place them in the present work as the first group of illustrations.

Group II (*Gro-lod*, 6 illustrations, Plates 18–24)

rDo-rje gro-lod is one of the eight names of *Padmasambhava* and in iconography he appears as a fearful-looking tantric deity. There are numerous texts dealing with the rite of this deity among the *rNying-ma-pa*.

In 1672, during the retreat in the Potala Palace, the *gter-ston Legs-ldan rdo-rje* (1512–1625) appeared in the Dalai Lama's vision and advised him to take up the practice of the ritual method of realization (*sgrub-thabs*) of the deity since the deity is specially effective for dealing with the *dam-sri* spirits. The Dalai Lama in another vision in the same period received the empowerment initiation of the deity from *Padma-sambhava* himself and on this occasion he was given the secret name *rDo-rje thogs-med-rtsal*. From then on the Dalai Lama often practised meditation on this deity. The full account of this vision is given in the section *Ma* of the *rGya-can* (*H* 270–73; 280–86), cf. also p. 61.

Group III (*dMag-zor*, 17 illustrations, Plates 25–38)

These illustrations of ritual items are concerned with the ritual cycle of the goddess *dPal-ldan lha-mo* (*Śrīdevī*). Amongst many names, she is often called *dMag-zor rgyal-mo* and so the drawings of the ritual items in this group are marked with the word *dMag-zor* in a series of seventeen illustrations.

It was in 1642 that the Fifth Dalai Lama, then aged twenty-six, began to perceive certain signs which were interpreted as being those of *dPal-ldan lha-mo*. The cult of this goddess is believed to have been introduced by *Acārya dMar-po* in the eleventh century. She was originally worshipped as a religious protectress among the *dGe-lugs-pas* by the First Dalai Lama, *dGe-'dun-grub* (1391–1474). In 1646 the Fifth Dalai Lama, aged thirty, had his first visions of the goddess and her attendants. These visions are described in the section *Ka* of the *rGya-can* (*H* 16–17) and were later summarized in his *Visions and their Significance*, i.e. Text I which is presented above. From this time, *dPal-ldan lha-mo* came to be considered one of his two principal religious protectors, the Red and Black ones (*srung-ma dmar-nag gnyis*), who were later recognized as protectors of the theocratic government, the *dGa'-ldan pho-brang*. Black refers to *dPal-ldan lha-mo*. As to the Red one, it was *Beg-tse* at the time of the Fifth Dalai Lama, but later it came to be identified as being *Pehar* of *gNas-chung*. *Beg-tse* was originally associated with a type of *Mahākāla* whose cult was brought to Tibet by *gNyan Lo-tsā-ba*.

Group IV (*Khams-gsum zil-gnon*, 7 illustrations, Plates 39–41)

These are *cakras* connected with the rite of the deity *Khams-gsum zil-gnon*, a form of *Hayagrīva* also known as *Dam-sri zil-gnon*. The Dalai Lama received the teaching of this ritual cycle in 1659 from *Lokeśvara* in a vision. *Hayagrīva* was his tutelary deity from the age of ten and the form of *Khams-gsum zil-gnon* is believed to be particularly effective in dealing with the *dam-sri* spirits. The visionary experience is described in section *Ba* of the *rGya-can* (*H* 324–25; 331–32). See also p. 45.

Group V (*Karma drag-po*, 13 illustrations, Plates 42–55)

This series of thirteen illustrations is marked with the name *Karma drag-po*, the chief deity in the ritual cycle known as the *Yang-gsang drag-po* or *Karmaguru'i chos-skor*. The central deity *Karma drag-po*, who is in fact identical to *rDo-rje gro-lod*, is considered as an 'action' aspect of *Padmasambhava*. The origin of the ritual cycle goes back to *Byang-bdag bKra-shis stobs-rgyal* (1550–1607) who is believed to have 'rediscovered' the texts from a cave in *gTsang-rong*. The Dalai Lama obtained the teaching from the *gter-ston* in visions on four occasions, 1640, 1642, 1660 and 1672. The manner in which he received the teaching is described in Text I (pp. 30, 48). See also sections *Ka* (*H* 12–15); *Cha* (*H* 123–24); *Ja* (*H* 151–56); *Ta* (*H* 172–77); and *Tsa* (*H* 309–15) of the *rGya-can*.

PLATES

The Method of Identification

Each illustration is presented with a brief statement concerning the general purpose of the ritual objects and the name of the particular ritual for which they are required. For the purpose of identification, each object drawn is numbered by means of a key and caption facing the illustrations. The inscriptions will be transliterated separately following the main list of captions. The contents of the inscriptions will be clear from the main list. However, further translations or explanations will be provided as and when necessary. Readers are also referred to the glossary where the ritual terms, originating mainly from the inscriptions, are explained.

rGya-can spyi (Plates 1–17)

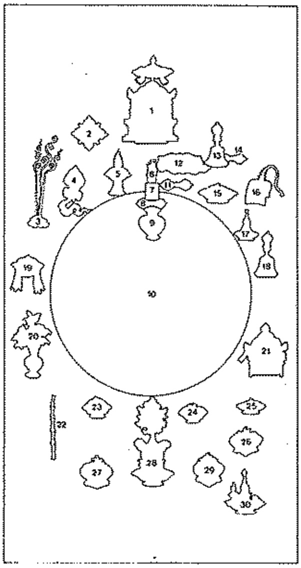


Plate 1

This illustration contains the ritual objects that are required in the empowerment ceremony of the ritual cycle: *Thugs-rje chen-po 'jig-rten dbang-phyug*. The principal deity of this cycle is *Lokeśvara*, a form of *Avalokiteśvara*, and is represented by one of the two images known as *'Phags-pa mched-gnyis*, the two Bodhisattva brothers, the other one being *Varti*. From an early time, at least from the eleventh century, King *Srong-btsan sgam-po* was considered to be an emanation of *Lokeśvara* and so his palace on the Red Mount (*dMar-po-ri*) became known as Potala which, as stated previously, is the paradise of the deity and the name of a mountain in Southern India.

In 1656, the Dalai Lama in a vision received the empowerment initiation of the deity when he was meditating in front of the deity's image in the Potala Palace (see p. 38).

1 throne of the officiating master

2 wheel (*'khor-lo*), emblem of the officiating master

3 incense (*spos*)

4 conch (*dung*)

5 butter-lamp (*mar-me*)

6 bunch of peacock feathers and *kuśa* grass known as *kha-rgyan* (*khagyen*)

7 *tsakali* resting on a *vajra* (*rdo-rje*)

8 *vajra*

9 vase (*bum-pa*)

10 *mandala* (*dkyil-'khor*)

11 *vajra* used for holding the *gzungs-thag*, see Glossary

12 volume of the ritual texts (*sgrub-pod*)

13 bell (*dril-bu*)

14 *vajra*

15 plate containing a liquid offering

16 overlapping pieces of cloth with different colours and inscribed *mantras* inside known as *cod-pan*, see Glossary

17 *torma* used as an oblation

18 see No. 13 above

19 hat worn during the empowerment ceremony (*dbang-zhva*)

20 vase with flowers

21 drum (*rnga*)

22 cane

23–25 plates containing various liquids and other substances used as offerings

26 skull-cup (*kapāla*) containing certain substance, see the inscriptions

27 skull-cup containing medicinal liquid (*sman*)

28 *torma* for offering

29 skull-cup containing blood (*rakta*)

30 *torma* for the obstructing spirits (*bgegs*)

INSCRIPTIONS

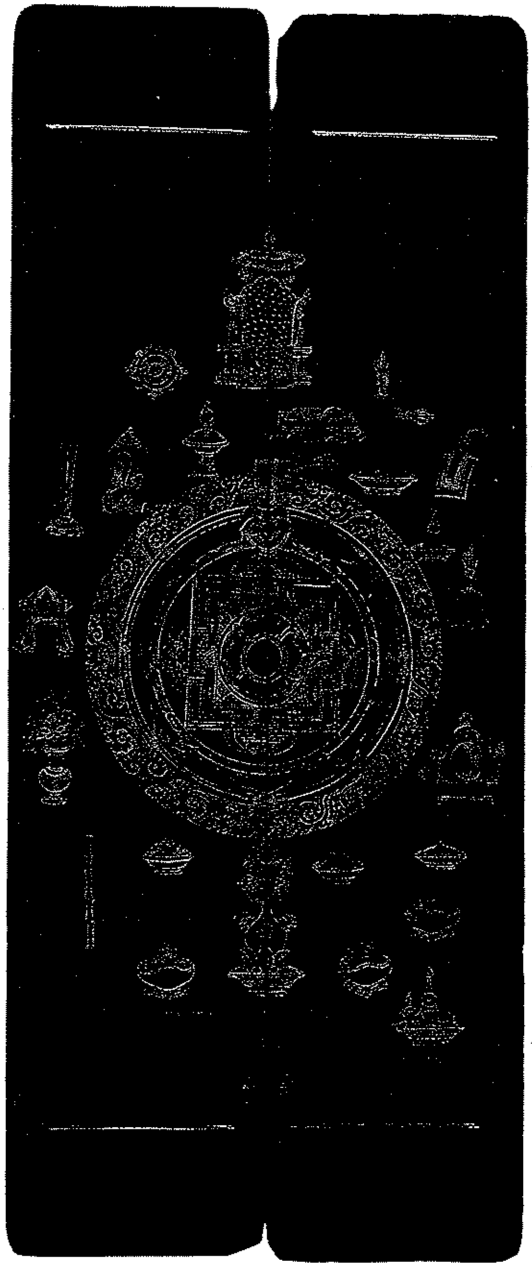
1 *rdo-rje slob-dpon*, officiating master

22 *chos-dbyug*

26 *gsang-rdzas*, 'secret substances', referring to the white and red *bodhicitta*, cf. Glossary

26–29 *sman-rak gtor-gsum*

30 *bgegs-gtor*



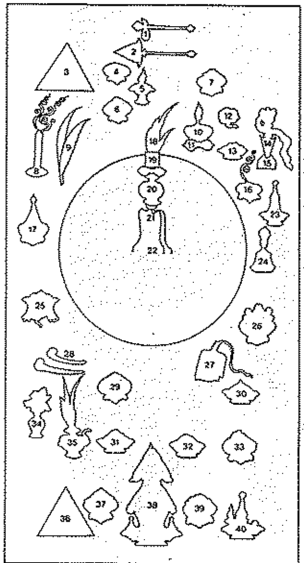


Plate 2

Maṇḍala and ritual objects required in the empowerment ceremony according to the ritual cycle: *bKa'-brgyad rig-'dzin zhal-lung*, cf. p. 40.

1–2 ritual instruments containing a substance

3 *liṅga* placed in the triangular receptacle known as *'brub-khung*

4 skull-cup containing a substance

5 butter-lamp

6 skull-cup containing blood

7 skull-cup containing a liquid

8 incense

9 owl feathers

10–11 skull-cups containing human heart, eyes and other internal parts as offerings

12 roll of variegated cord

13 plate containing stones

14–15 ritual daggers known as *phur-bu* stuck into the ritual triangular receptacles, cf. No. 3

16 skull-cup used for burning medicinal herbs

17 *torma* used as offering

18 *khagyen*

19 *tsakali* resting on a *vajra*

20 vase used in the 2nd stage of the empowerment ceremony

21 tripod (*rkang-gsum*)

22 *maṇḍala* of the *bKa'-brgyad* cycle

23 *torma*, cf. No. 17

24 bell

25 hat, cf. Plate 1, No. 19

26 skull-cup, cf. Nos. 10–11

27 cf. Plate 1, No. 16

28 bone trumpets (*rkang-gling*)

29–32 various liquids and substances used as offerings

33 cf. Plate 1, No. 26

34 vase with flowers

35 vase used for the ablution ceremony

36 cf. No. 3

37–39 see Plate 1, Nos. 27–29

40 *torma*, cf. Plate 1, No. 30

INSCRIPTIONS

1–2 *rdul-du brlag-rdzas*, substance that has the effect of destruction

3 *nya-bo = liṅga*

4 *dbab-rdzas*, substance that has the effect of summoning spirits

7 *smyo-rdzas*, liquid that has the effect of causing madness

9 *dbye-rdzas*, feathers that have the effect of separating the opponents from their protective deities

12 *byad-rdzas*, material used in the imprecation rites

14–15 *bsnyen-phur*, a type of ritual dagger

33 *gsang-rdzas*

35 *las-bum*, a type of vase

37–39 *sman-rak gtor-gsum*

40 *bgegs-gtor*

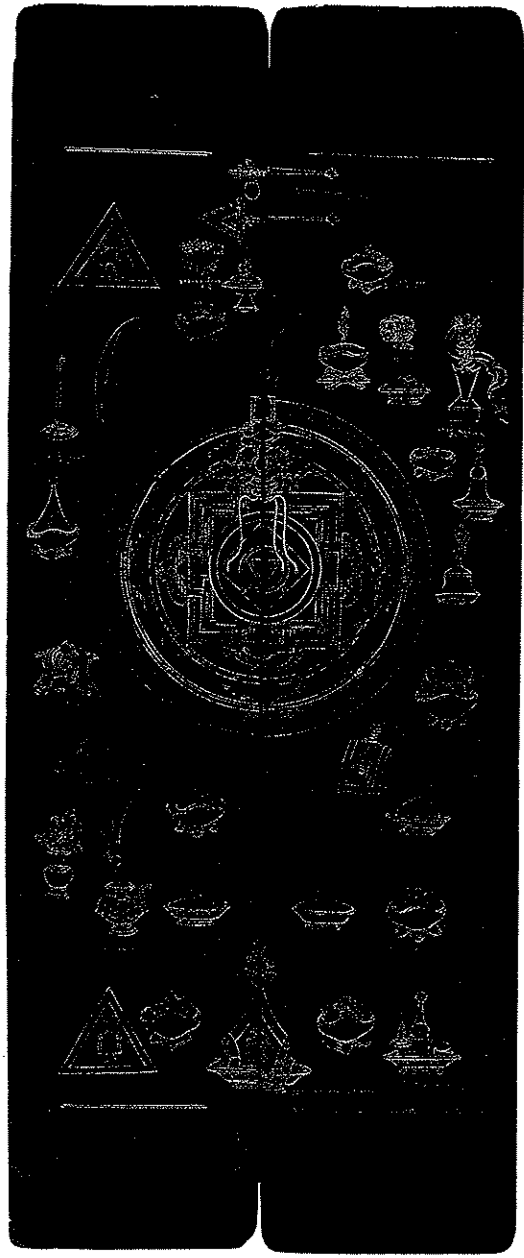
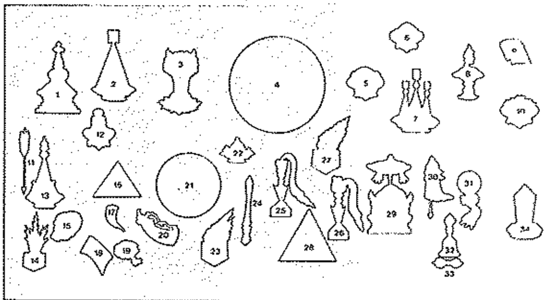


Plate 3

Ritual objects required in the same ceremony as in Plate 2.



1 *stūpa* under which is hidden a part of the *liṅga* in the imprecation rite

2 *torma* representing *Yama*

3 horse head representing *Hayagrīva*

4 *cakra* of the deity *Hayagrīva*

5 skull-cup containing a medicinal substance

6 liquid used in the longevity ritual

7 *torma* representing the *Ma-mo* goddesses

8 butter-lamp

9 fire-cloth, used in the *homa* rite

10 skull-cup containing *mantra* syllables

11 arrow (*mda'*)

12 skull-cup containing the *bam*, a kind of *liṅga*

13 *torma* representing the eight categories of demoniac beings

14 triangular cup containing the hurled offering (*zor*)

15 skull used for containing the burned part of the *liṅga* and hidden in the ground

16 *liṅga*

17 ox horn filled with blood, the wet *thun*, cf. No. 20 below

18 cloth woven with yak's hair and used for covering the *liṅga*

19 variegated cord, used for binding the *liṅga* in imprecation rites

20 horn for carrying the dry and wet *thun*, i.e. certain materials, such as mustard seed used as weapons against harmful spirits

21 *cakra* used when violent action is deemed necessary

22 ink

23 ritual fire-pit, cf. Plate 2, No. 3

24 ritual sword

25–26 two types of ritual dagger

27 cf. No. 23 above

28 *liṅga* representing the *dam-sri* spirit and placed in the ritual receptacle

29 throne of the officiating master

30 victory banner (*rgyal-mtshan*)

31 mirror (*me-long*)

32–33 cf. Plate 2, Nos. 10, 11

34 crystal (*man-shel*), used in the 4th stage of the empowerment initiation for introducing the disciple to his own mind and explaining to him its effulgent nature

INSCRIPTIONS

1 *bcas-chog*, 'imprecation rite'

2 *las-gshin* = *las-kyi gshin-rje*

3 *rta-zhal*, *Hayagrīva*

4 *rta-zhal-gyi 'khor-lo*

5 *chos-man*

6 *tshe-dbang-gi rdzas*

7 *ma-mo'i gtor-ma*

8 *mar-me*

9 *me-gos*

10 *sde-brgyad srog-dbang*, syllables representing the eight categories of demoniac beings used in the empowerment ceremonies

12 *bam*

13 *sde-brgyad gtor-ma*

14 *hong-zor*

15 *mnan-thod*

16 *nya-bo* = *liṅga*

17 *glang-ru*

18 *re-ba*

19 *ring-cha*

20 *skam-rlon thun-snod*, container of the dry and wet *thun*

21 *drag-po'i 'khor-lo*

22 *snag-tsha*

23 *hom*

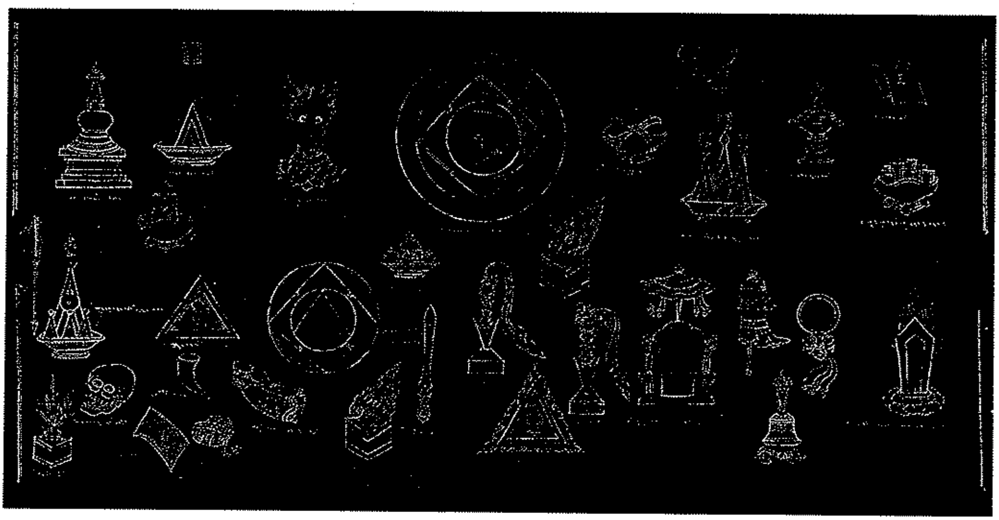
24 *sgrol-gri*

25–26 *las-phur*

28 *dam-sri*, for explanation see Glossary

29 *rdo-rje slob-dpon*

34 *rig-pa'i rtsal-dbang*, the 4th stage of the empowerment ceremony



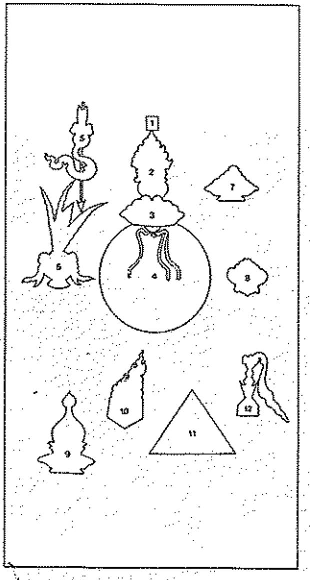


Plate 4

Maṇḍala and ritual objects required in the empowerment ceremony according to the ritual cycle: *'Chi-bdag bdud-'joms*, cf. p. 42.

1 *tsakali*

2 vase used in the ritual of longevity (*tshe-bum*)

3 pills used in the ritual of longevity, cf. No. 7 below

4 *maṇḍala* of the ritual cycle

5 ritual arrow used in the ritual of longevity

6 vase used in ablution ceremony

7 cf. No. 3

8 skull-cup containing ale

9 *torma* for offering

10 ritual receptacle used in the *homa* rite

11 *liṅga* representing the demon who causes premature death and placed in the ritual receptacle

12 ritual dagger

INSCRIPTIONS

5 *tshe-mda'*

6 *rnam-bum*

7 *tshe-ril*

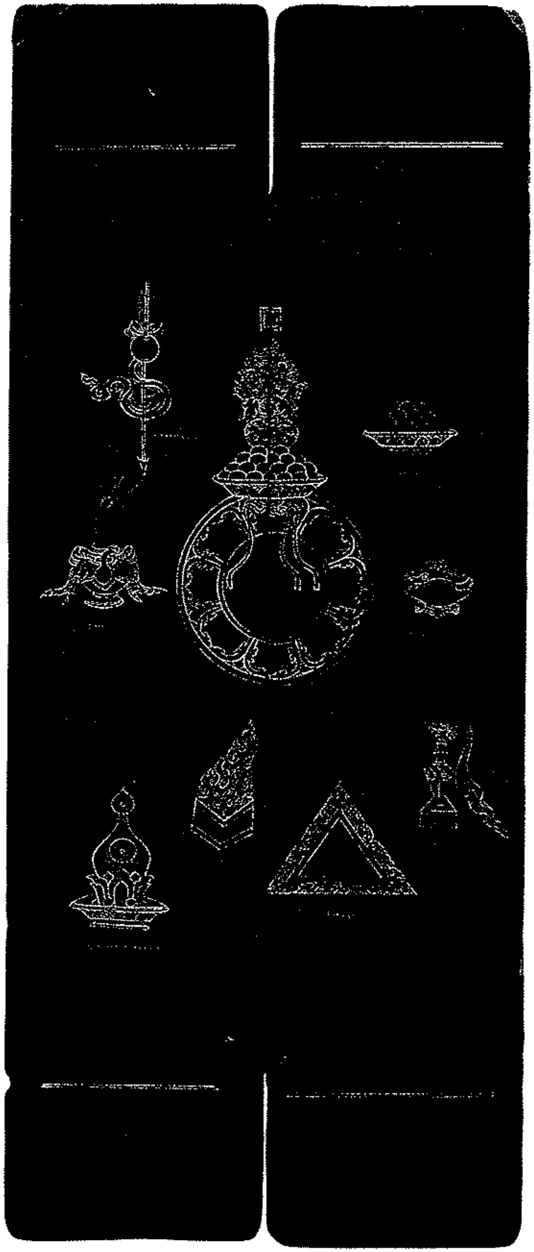
8 *tshe-rdzas*

9 *'bul-gtor*

10 *homa*

11 *tshe-bdud*

12 *las-phur*



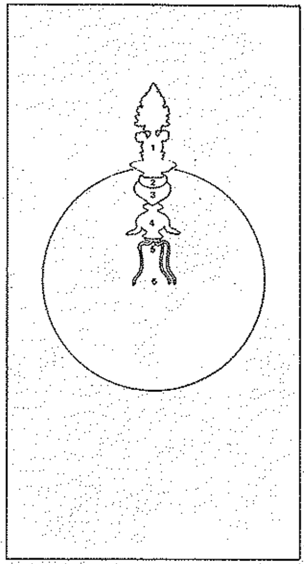


Plate 5

Maṇḍala and ritual objects used in the empowerment ceremony according to the ritual cycle: *Thugs-sgrub yang-snying kun-'dus*, a ritual method of realization of the deity *Drag-po-rtsal* who is an aspect of *rDo-rje gro-lod*, see p. 43.

1 *torma* with a jewel top representing the deity *Drag-po-rtsal*
2 mirror
3 skull-cup
4 vase
5 tripod
6 *maṇḍala* of the ritual cycle

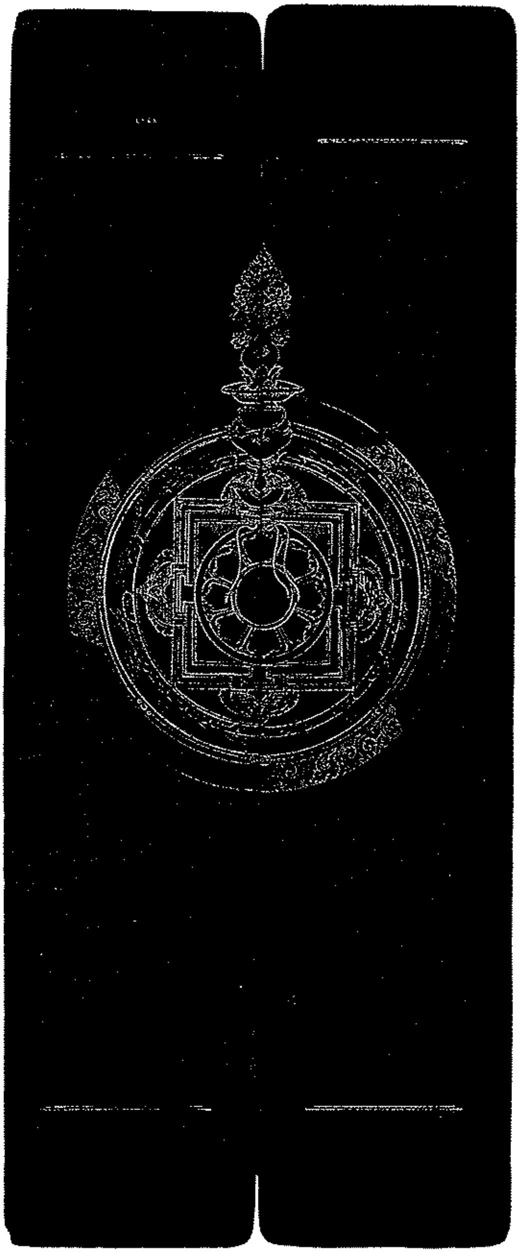
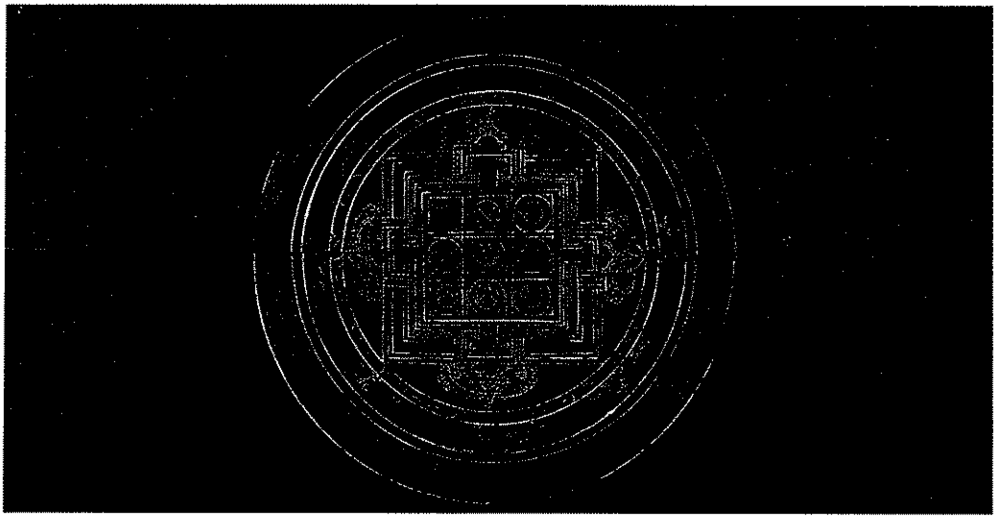


Plate 6

A *maṇḍala* embodying the eight kinds of *maṇḍala* of the eight divinities according to the ritual cycle: *bKa'-brgyad spyi-dril zhi-khro rnam-rol*. The Fifth Dalai Lama was initiated in these *maṇḍalas* in a vision whilst he was in a retreat in the Potala Palace in 1656, cf. p. 43.



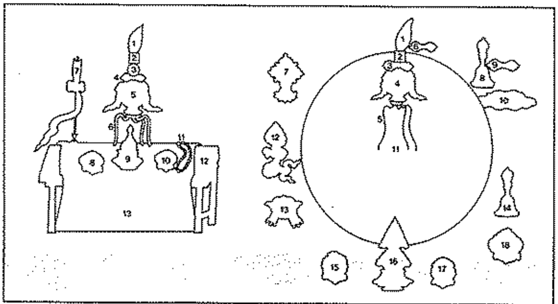


Plate 7 A

Ritual objects needed in the empowerment ceremony according to the ritual cycle: *mTsho-skyes 'chi-med rdo-rje*. This title is also written below the illustration in the inscription.

1 *khagyen*
2 *tsākali*
3 mirror
4 *vajra*
5 vase
6 tripod
7 arrow
8 skull-cup containing medicinal offering
9 *torma* for offering
10 skull-cup containing the blood offering
11 rosary (*'phreng-ba*)
12 altar (*stegs, gtor-cog*)
13 altar-cloth (*gtor-kheb*)

INSCRIPTIONS

2 *tsakali*
3 *me-long*
5 *bum-pa*
9 *'bul-gtor*

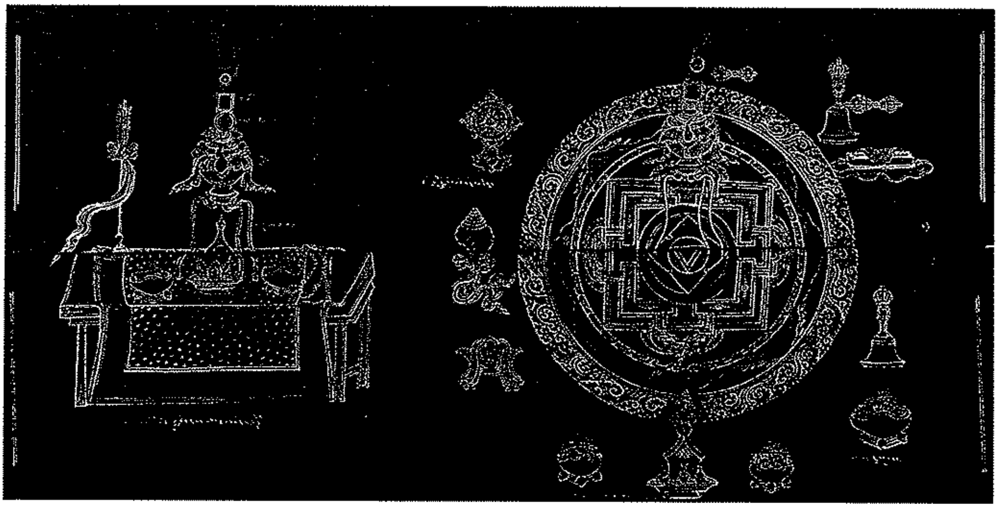
Plate 7 B

Maṇḍala and ritual objects required in the empowerment ceremony according to the ritual cycle: *rTa-mgrin dam-sri zil-gnon*. The central deity of this *maṇḍala* is *Hayagrīva*, cf. p. 45.

1 *khagyen*
2 *tsakali*
3 *vajra*
4 vase
5 tripod
6 *vajra*, cf. Plate 1, No. 11
7 wheel, emblem of the officiating master
8 bell
9 *vajra*
10 volume of the ritual text
11 *maṇḍala* of the ritual cycle
12 conch
13 hat worn by the officiating master
14 bell, cf. No. 8 above
15–17 cf. Plate 1, Nos. 17–19
18 cf. Plate 1, No. 26

INSCRIPTIONS

7 *rdo-rje slob-dpon*
15–17 *sman-rak gtor-gsum*
18 *gsang-rdzas*



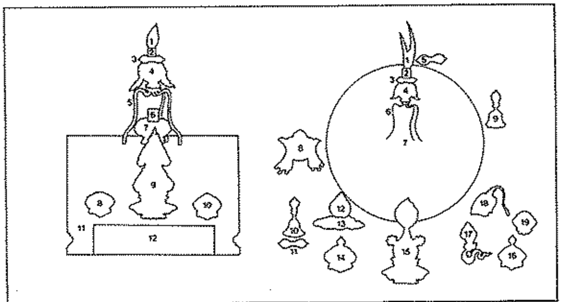


Plate 8 A

Ritual objects required in the empowerment ceremony according to the ritual cycle: *Bla-ma bde-chen dbang-phyug*. This title is also given beside the illustration.

1 *khagyen*
2 *tsakali*
3 *vajra*
4 vase
5 tripod
6 *tsakali*
7 skull-cup
8–10 cf. Plate 1, Nos. 27–29
11 altar
12 altar-cloth

INSCRIPTIONS

3 *dbang-bum*
7 *bum-pa'i mdun-du thod-pa*, skull-cup placed in front of the vase
8–10 *mchod-gtor sman-rak*

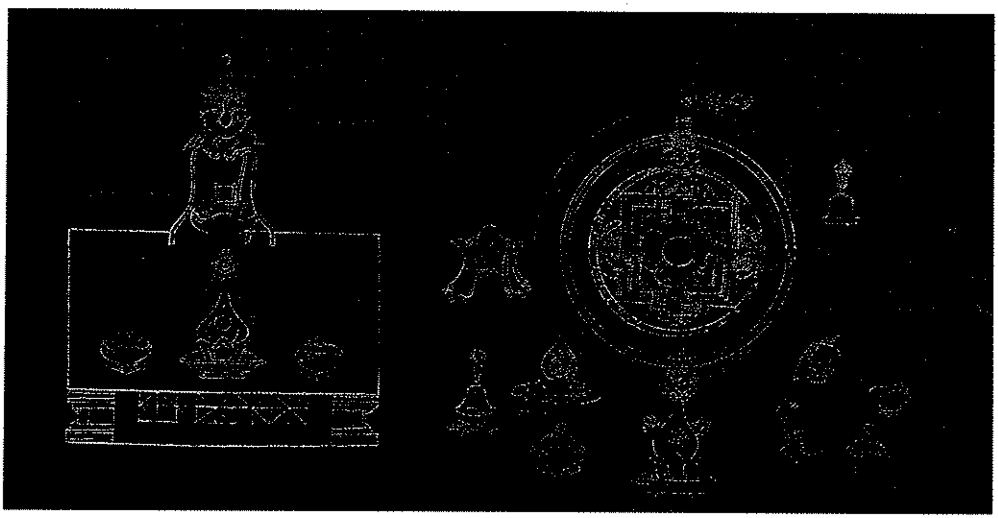
Plate 8 B

Maṇḍala and ritual objects used in the empowerment ceremony according to the ritual cycle: *'Chi-med dpal-ster*. This title is also written beside the illustration.

1 *khagyen*
2 *tsakali*
3 *vajra*
4 vase
5 *vajra* for the *gzungs-thag*, see Glossary; cf. also Plate 1, No. 11
6 tripod
7 *maṇḍala* of the ritual cycle
8 hat worn by the officiating master
9 bell used by the sacristan
10 bell used by the officiating master
11 *vajra*
12 wheel
13 volume of the ritual text
14–16 cf. Plate 1, Nos. 27–29
17 conch
18 cf. Plate 1, No. 16
19 cf. Plate 1, No. 26

INSCRIPTIONS

12–13 *rdo-rje slob-dpon*
14–16 *sman-rak gtor-gsum*
19 *gsang-rdzas*



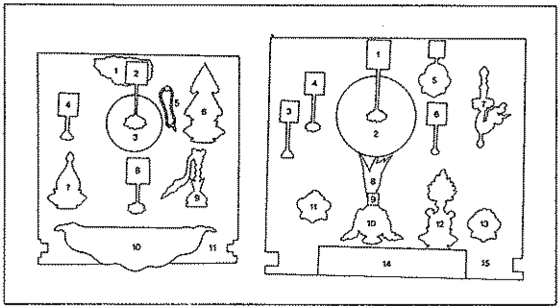


Plate 9

A. Ritual objects required in the empowerment ceremony according to the ritual cycle: *Sems-nyid bde-chen ngal-gso*. The principal deity of this ritual is *Citta-viśramaṇa* (*Sems-nyid ngal-gso*), cf. p. 49.

1 volume of the ritual text

2 *tsakali*

3 *man-dal*

4 *tsakali* showing a lotus which represents one of the five Buddha families

5 crystal rosary, attribute of the deity

6 *torma* representing the deity

7 *torma* for offering

8 *tsakali* bearing the six-syllable: *Oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ*

9 ritual dagger

10 altar-cloth

11 altar

INSCRIPTIONS

1 *sgrub-pod*

2 *gtso-bo'i sku*, representation of the chief deity

4 *padma rigs-bzhi'i phyag-mtshan-gyi skor*

5 *shel-phreng*

6 *dbal-gtor*

7 *mchod-gtor*

8 *yig-drug*

9 *phur-pa (bu)*

B. *Maṇḍala* and ritual objects required in the empowerment ceremony according to the ritual cycle: *Thugs-rje chen-po rtsa-gsum 'dus-pa*. The principal deity of this ritual is *Mahākaruṇā*. The title of this cycle is also written below the illustration.

1 *tsakali* bearing *Amitābha*

2 *maṇḍala* of the ritual cycle

3 *Padmasambhava*

4 *Mahākaruṇā*

5 *Vārāhī*

6 *Hayagrīva*

7 staff (*be-con*)

8 *khagyen*

9 *tsakali*

10 vase

11–13 cf. Plate 1, Nos. 27–29

14 altar-cloth

15 altar

INSCRIPTIONS

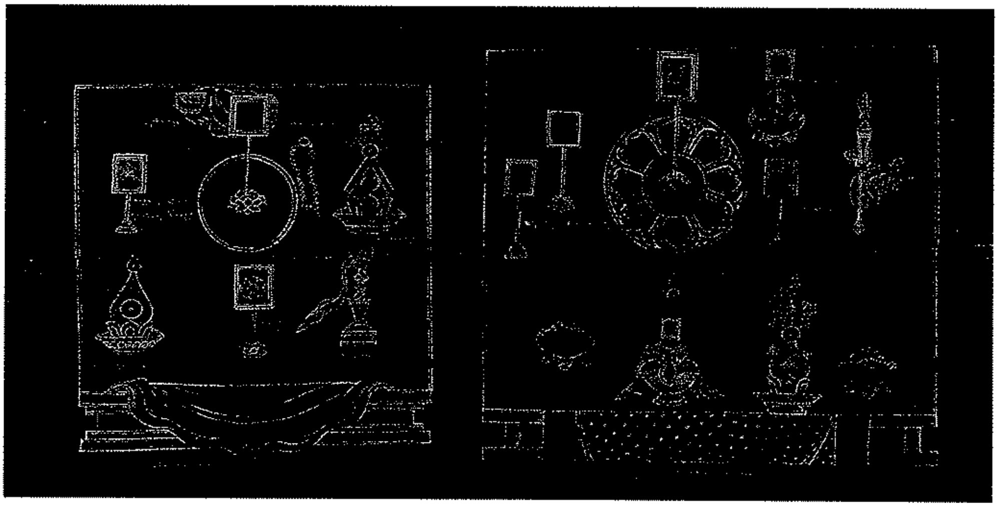
3 *padma*

4 *thugs-rje chen-po*

5 *phag-mo*

6 *rta-mgrin*

10–12 *mchod-gtor sman-rak*



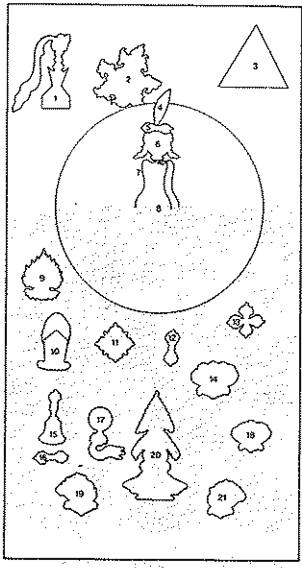


Plate 10

Maṇḍala and ritual objects required in the empowerment ceremony of the ritual cycle: *Drag-dmar bgegs-dpung kun-'joms*. The central deity of this ritual is *Guru drag-dmar*, an aspect of *Padmasambhava*, cf. p. 52.

1 ritual dagger

2 lotus (*padma*), one of the five attributes of the Buddha family

3 *liṅga* representing the *dam-sri* spirit placed in the ritual receptacle

4 *khagyen*

5 *vajra*

6 vase

7 tripod

8 *maṇḍala* of the ritual cycle

9 jewel (*rin-chen*), one of the five attributes, cf. No. 2 above

10 crystal, cf. Plate 4, No. 34

11 wheel (*'khor-lo*), one of the five attributes, cf. No. 2 above

12 *vajra*, one of the five attributes, cf. No. 2 above

13 crossed-*vajra* (*rdo-rje rgya-gram*), one of the five attributes, cf. No. 2 above

14 'soul-stone' (*bla-rdo*) of the eight kinds of demoniac beings

15 bell

16 *vajra*

17 mirror

18 cf. Plate 1, No. 26

19–21 cf. Plate 1, Nos. 27–29

INSCRIPTIONS

1 *las-phur*

3 *dam-sri*

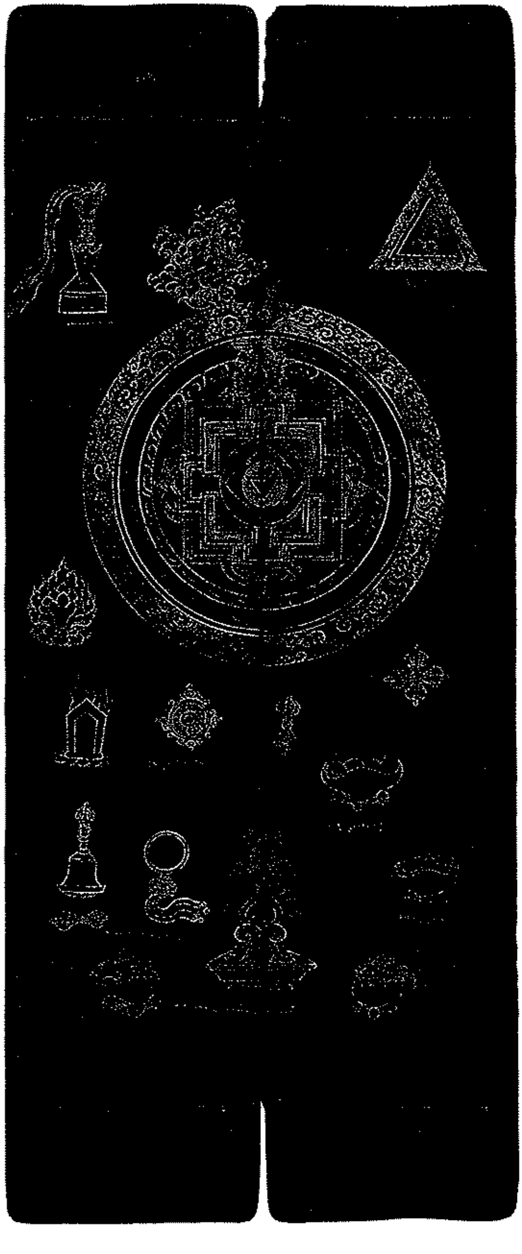
11 *rigs-lnga'i phyag-mtshan*, attributes of the five Buddha families

14 *sde-brgyad bla-rdo*

17 *bzhi'i dbang-rdzas*, articles used in the 4th stage of the empowerment ceremony

18 *gsang-rdzas*

19–21 *sman-rak gtor-gsum*



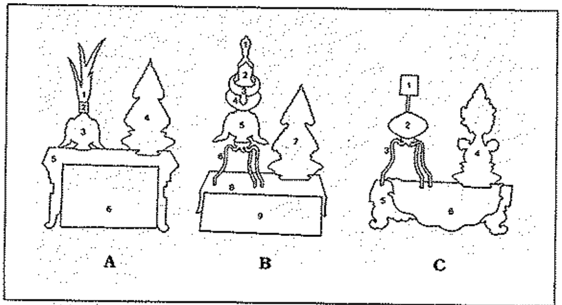


Plate 11

A. Ritual objects required in the empowerment ceremony according to the ritual cycle: *sKu-gsum sgyu-'phrul rol-ba*. This title is written below the illustration, cf. p. 54.

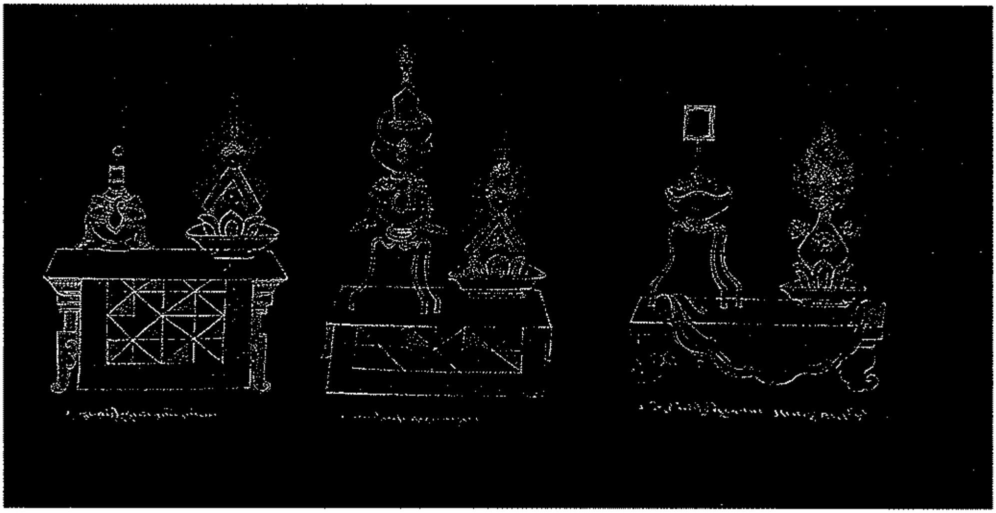
1 *khagyen*
2 *tsakali*
3 vase
4 *torma*
5 altar
6 altar-cloth

B. Ritual objects used in the empowerment ceremony according to the ritual cycle: *'Chi-med ga'u kha-sbyor*. This title is given below the illustration, cf. p. 54.

1 bell
2 crystal
3 mirror
4 skull-cup
5 vase
6 tripod
7 *torma*
8 altar
9 altar-cloth

C. Ritual objects used in the empowerment ceremony according to the ritual cycle: *Jo-mo byin-rlabs zung-'jug rnam-rol*. This title is written below the illustration, cf. p. 55.

1 *tsakali*
2 skull-cup
3 tripod
4 *torma*
5 altar
6 altar-cloth



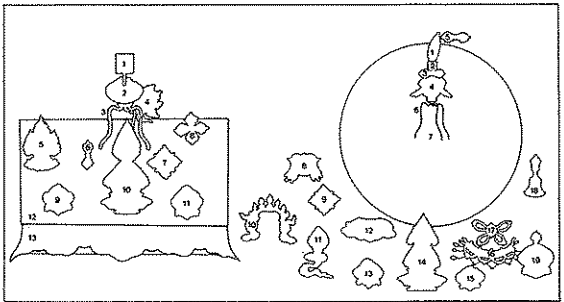


Plate 12

A. Ritual objects used in the empowerment ceremony according to the ritual cycle: *Yid-bzhin char-'bebs.* This title is also written below the illustration, cf. p. 56.

1 *tsakali* bearing a jewel
2 skull-cup
3 tripod
4 lotus
5 jewel
6 *vajra*
7 wheel
8 crossed-*vajra*
9–11 cf. Plate 1, Nos. 27–29

INSCRIPTIONS

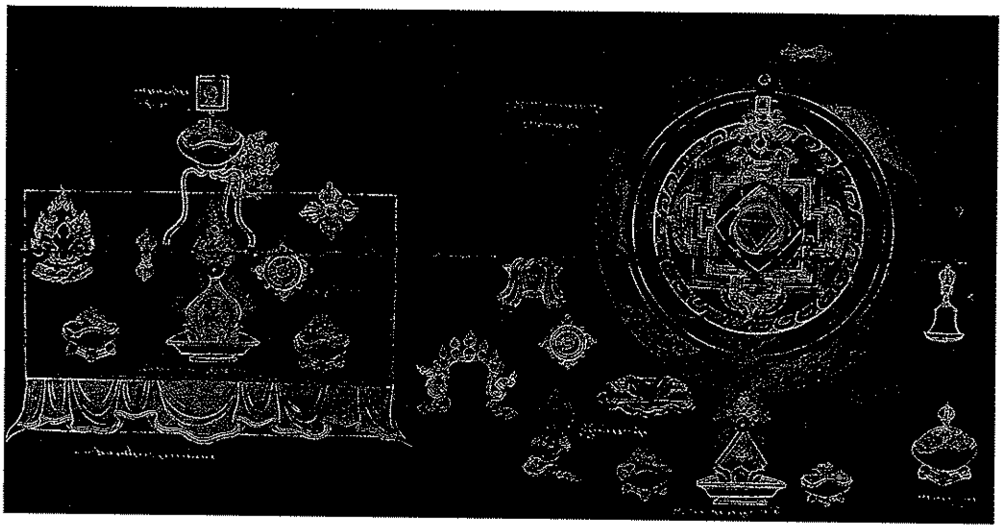
1 *yid-bzhin nor-bu*
3–8 *rigs-lnga'i phyag-mtshan*
9–11 *sman-rak gtor-gsum*

B. *Maṇḍala* and ritual objects used in the empowerment ceremony according to the ritual cycle: *Dregs-'dul bdud-sde phye-'thag.* This title is also written beside the illustration, cf. p. 57.

1 *khagyen*
2 *tsakali*
3 *vajra*
4 vase
5 *vajra*, cf. Plate 1, No. 11
6 tripod
7 *maṇḍala* of the ritual cycle
8 hat worn in the ceremony by the officiating master
9 wheel
10 ritual diadem (*dbu-rgyan*)
11 conch used by the officiating master
12 volume of the ritual text
13–15 cf. Plate 1, Nos. 27–29
16 bone necklet (*rus-pa'i sked-rgyan*)
17 bone apron (*se-ral-kha*)
18 bell
19 cf. Plate 1, No. 26

INSCRIPTIONS

11 *rdo-rje slob-dpon*
13–15 *sman-rak gtor-gsum*
19 *gsang-rdzas*



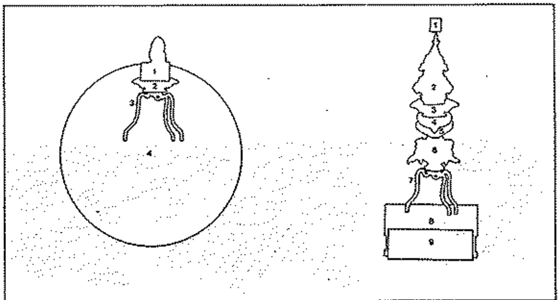


Plate 13

A. *Mandala* of the teaching known as 'realization through wearing' (*btags-grol*), a branch of the doctrine of the Great Perfection (*rDzogs-chen*). The full title of the teaching is: *bTags-grol ma bsgom myur-lam*, cf. p. 58.

1 crystal, cf. Plate 3, No. 34
2 plate
3 tripod
4 *mandala* of the teaching

INSCRIPTION

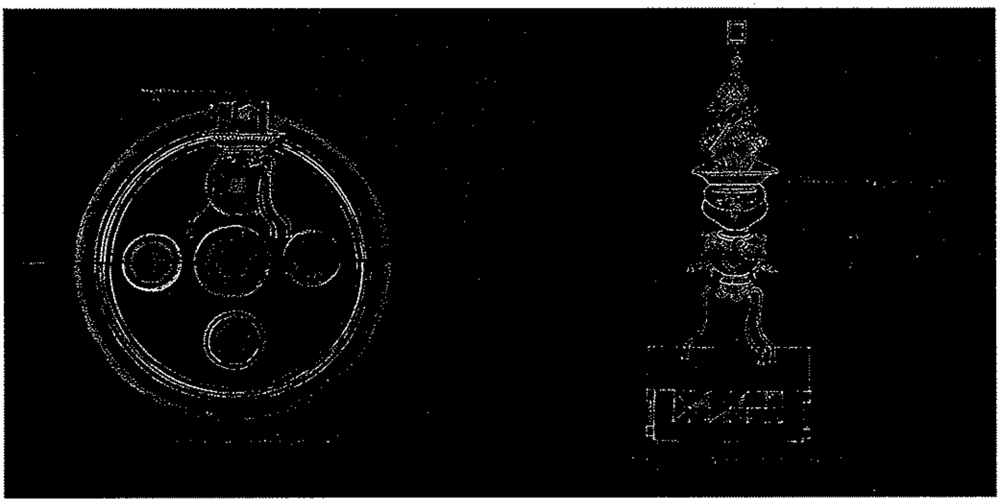
1 *btags-grol 'ja'-shel*, 'crystal rainbow', used in the *btags-grol* teaching

B. Ritual objects used in the empowerment ceremony according to the ritual cycle: *lHa-lcam-gyi byin-rlabs mkha'-'gro'i snying-bcud*, cf. p. 59.

1 *tsakali*
2 *torma*
3 plate
4 mirror painted with red lead (*sindhura*) and inscribed with the syllables of *mantra*
5 skull-cup
6 vase
7 tripod
8 altar
9 altar-cloth

INSCRIPTION

4 *me-long sindhura byugs-sngags bris-pa*



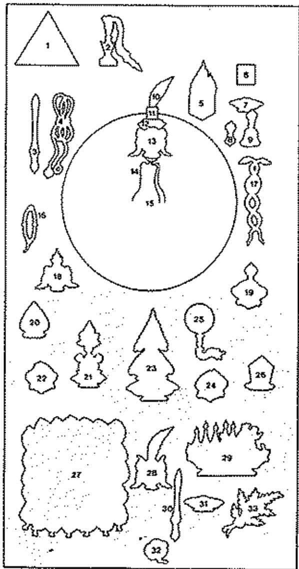


Plate 14

Maṇḍala of the deity *Klu-gnyan kun-'dul,* an aspect of *Hayagrīva,* and the ritual objects used in the empowerment ceremony of the ritual cycle, cf. p. 60.

1 *liṅga* placed in the ritual receptacle

2 ritual dagger

3 ritual sword symbolizing the chief deity of the *maṇḍala*

4 lasso (*zhags-pa*), attribute of the deity

5 ritual receptacle for the *homa* rite

6 *tsakali*

7 milk in a bowl

8 *vajra*

9 bell

10 *khagyen*

11 *tsakali*

12 *vajra*

13 vase

14 tripod

15 *maṇḍala* of the ritual cycle

16 rosary

17 snakes, attribute of the deity *Garuda*

18 vase

19 cf. Plate 1, No. 26

20 jewel symbolizing nobility

21 *torma*

22–24 cf. Plate 1, Nos. 27–29

25 mirror

26 crystal, cf. Plate 3, No. 34

27 dwelling of the *Nāgas*

28 vase

29 various offerings including *torma* for the *Nāgas*

30 ritual sword for cutting the ritual cord, on which see No. 32 below

31 milk

32 cf. Plate 3, No. 19

33 peacock feathers for sprinkling water in purificatory rites

INSCRIPTIONS

1 *liṅga*

2 *las-phur*

3 *gtso-bo*

5 *hom*

7 *'ol-chol*

16 *gsung-dbang-gi rten,* 'support of the empowerment ceremony of speech'

17 *khyung*

19 *gsang-rdzas*

20 *yon-tan-gyi dbang-rten,* 'support of the empowerment ceremony of nobility'

22–24 *sman-rak gtor-gsum*

26 *rig-pa'i rtsal-dbang*

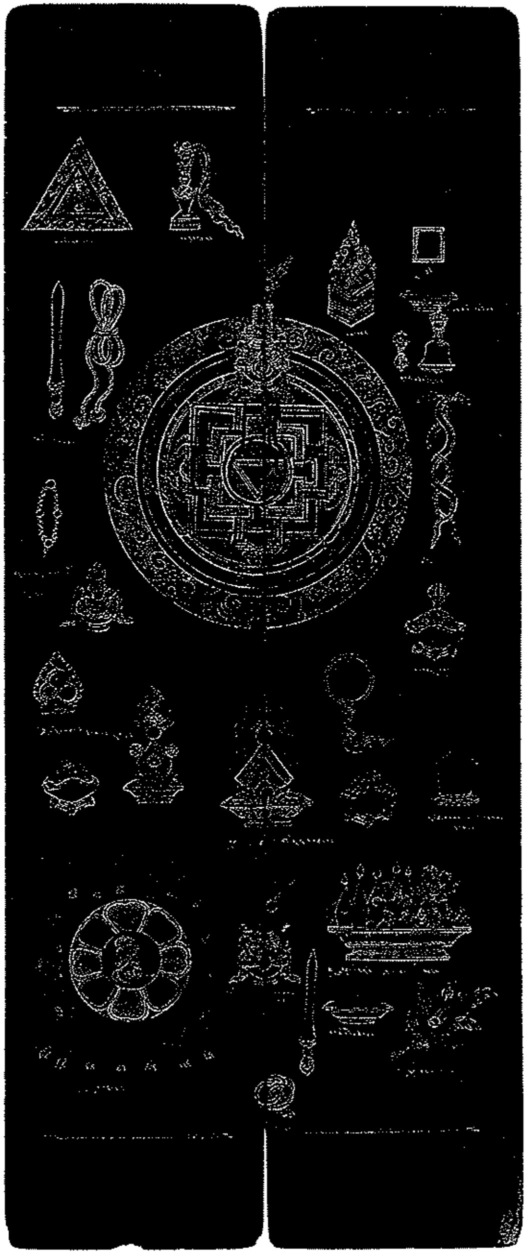
27 *klu'i gnas*

29 *klu-nor nyer-gcig*

31 *'ol-chol*

32 *ring-cha*

33 *byab-chas*



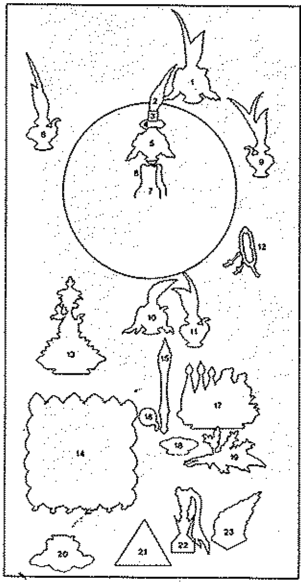


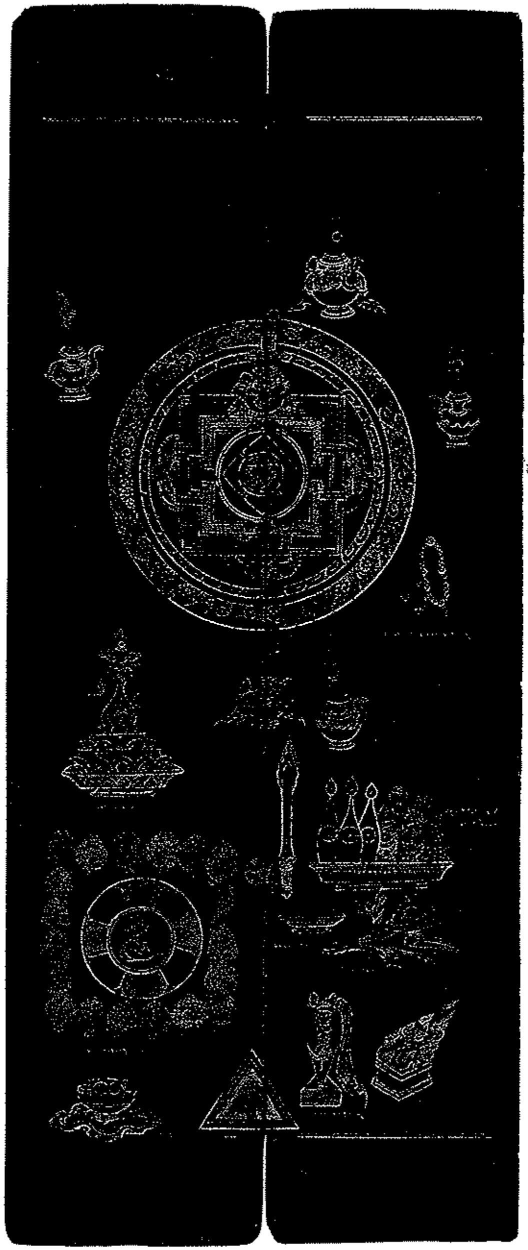
Plate 15

Maṇḍala and the ritual articles used in the empowerment ceremony according to the ritual cycle: *Nāgarakṣa 'og-gdon mthar-byed*, cf. p. 60.

1 vase
2 *khagyen*
3 *tsakali*
4 *vajra*
5 vase
6 tripod
7 *maṇḍala* of the ritual cycle
8–11 vases
12 rosary, cf. Plate 14, No. 16
13 *torma* for offering
14 dwelling of the *Nāgas*
15 ritual sword, cf. Plate 14, No. 30
16 variegated cord, cf. Plate 3, No. 19
17 various offerings including *torma* for the *Nāgas*
18 milk
19 peacock feather
20 skull-cup
21 *liṅga*
22 ritual dagger
23 ritual receptacle

INSCRIPTIONS

12 *gsung-dbang-gi rten*
14 *klu'i gnas*
16 *ring-cha*
17 *klu-nor nyer-gcig*
18 *'ol-chol*
22 *las-phur*
23 *hom*



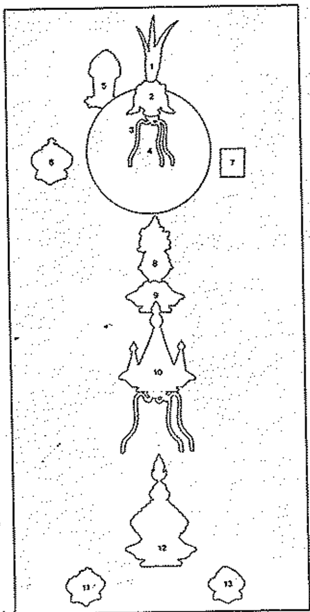
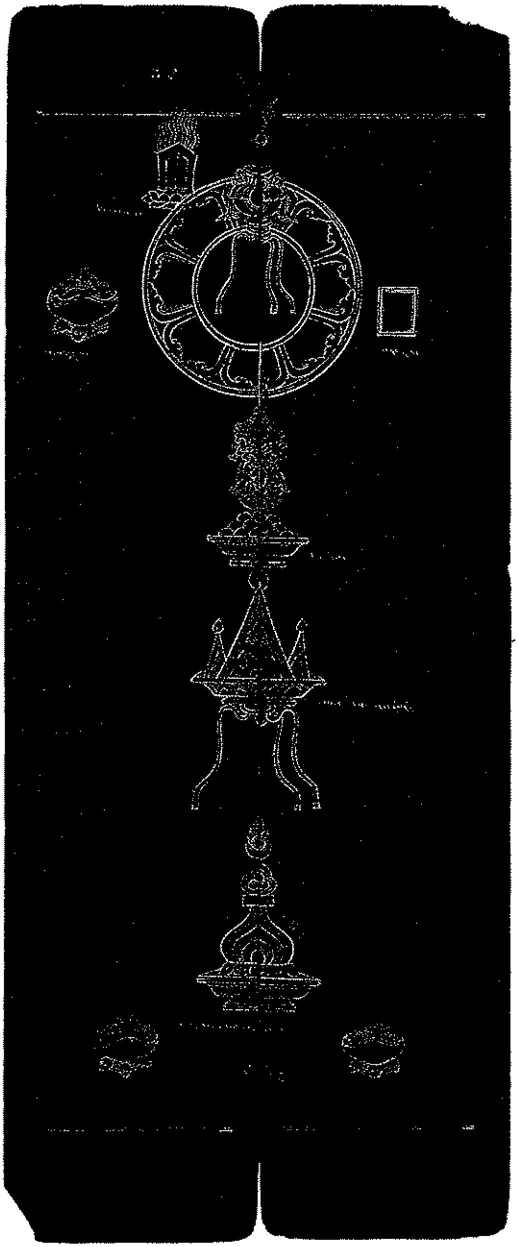


Plate 16

Ritual articles used in the empowerment ceremony according to the ritual cycle: *Bla-ma rdo-rje-'chang srog-gi rgya-mdud*, cf. p. 62.

1 *khagyen*
2 vase
3 tripod
4 lotus
5 crystal, cf. Plate 3, No. 34
6 cf. Plate 1, No. 26
7 *tsakali*
8 vase
9 pills used in the ritual of longevity
10 *torma* representing the religious protector *Beg-tse* and his retinue
11–13 cf. Plate 1, Nos. 27–29

INSCRIPTIONS
5 *rtsal-dbang*
6 *gsang-rdzas*
9 *tshe-zas*
10 *beg-tse gtso-'khor*
11–13 *sman-rak gtor-gsum*



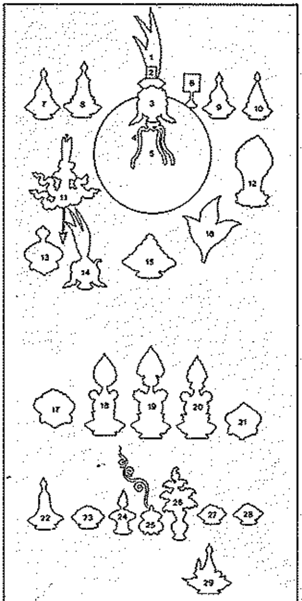


Plate 17

Maṇḍala and ritual objects used in the empowerment ceremony according to the ritual cycle: *Tshe-dpag-med dangs-ma bcud-'dren*, cf. p. 63.

1 *khagyen*

2 *tsakali*

3 vase

4 tripod

5 *maṇḍala* of the ritual cycle

6 *tsakali* used as the support in the 3rd stage of the empowerment ceremony known as the 'initiation of wisdom' (*shes-rab dbang*)

7–10 four types of *torma* representing the four kinds of action, namely, tranquillity (*zhi-ba*), prosperity (*rgyas-pa*), subjugation (*dbang*) and violence (*drag-po*)

11 ritual arrow, cf. Plate 4, No. 5

12 crystal, cf Plate 3, No. 34

14 vase

15 pills used in the ritual of longevity

16 peacock feather

17–21 cf. Plate 1, Nos. 27–29. Here there are three *tormas* instead of one

22 food (*bshos*)

23 scented water (*dri-chab*)

24 butter-lamp (*mar-me*)

25 incense (*bdug-spos*)

26 flower (*me-tog*)

27–28 two types of water for general use (*nyer-spyod-kyi chu-gnyis*)

INSCRIPTIONS

6 *sher-rten = shes-rab-kyi rten*, 'support of the wisdom', i.e. the item representing the feminine partner in the empowerment initiation

7–10 *'phrin-las bzhi'i gtor-ma*

11 *tshe-mda'*

12 *bzhi-ba'i dbang-rten*, 'support of the 4th stage of the empowerment initiation'

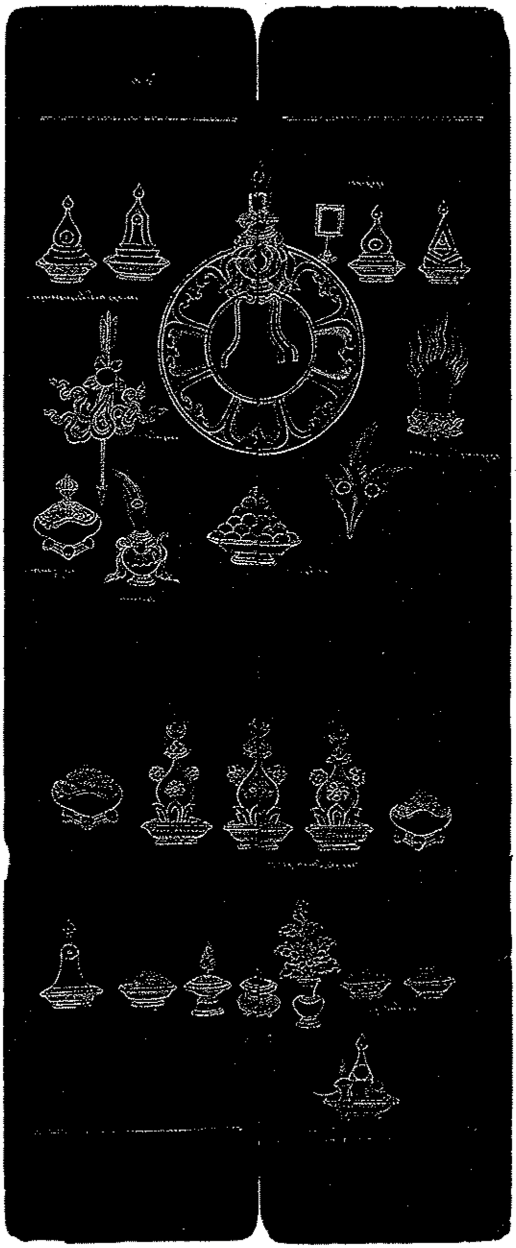
13 *gsang-rdzas*

14 *las-bum*

15 *tshe-ril*

17–21 *sman-rak gtor-gsum*

22–26 *phyi-mchod*, 'exoteric offerings'



Gro-lod (Plates 18–24)

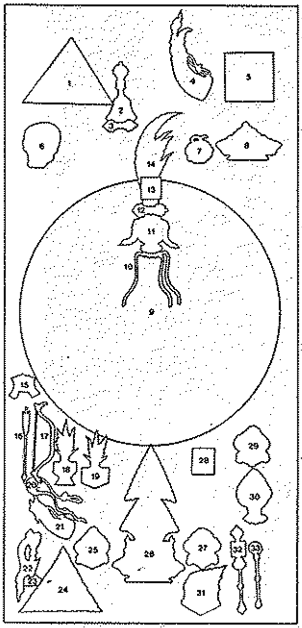


Plate 18

Maṇḍala and ritual objects used in the empowerment ceremony of *rDo-rje gro-lod* according to the text: *rDo-rje gro-lod gnam-lcags 'bar-ba* written by the Fifth Dalai Lama himself, see p. 62.

1 *liṅga*

2 bell

3 *vajra*

4 horn containing the *thun* substance, such as mustard seed, cf. Plate 3, Nos. 17, 20

5 cloth for wrapping the *liṅga*

6 skull, cf. Plate 3, No. 15

7 variegated cord, cf. Plate 3, No. 19

8 coloured earth for making the *maṇḍala*

9 *maṇḍala* of the ritual cycle

10 tripod

11 vase

12 *vajra*

13 *tsakali*

14 *khagyen*

15 ritual hat, cf. Plate 1, No. 19; Plate 2, No. 25

16 arrow

17 bow

18 unidentified

19 blood

20 sling

21 cf. No. 4 above

22 ritual dagger

23 ritual receptacle

24 see No. 1 above

25–27 cf. Plate 1, Nos. 27–29

28 *tsakali*

29 cf. Plate 1, No. 26

30 crystal used for explaining the nature of the luminous mind, cf. Plate 3, No. 34

31 cf. Plate 3, No. 23; Plate 14, No. 5; Plate 15, No. 23

32–33 ritual ladles used in the *homa* rite

INSCRIPTIONS

1 *nya-bo* = *liṅga*

4 *thun-snod*

5 *ro-g.yam*

6 *mnan-thod*

7 *tshon-skud*

8 *sa-tshon*

18–19 *zor-rdzas*

20 *'ur-rdo*

21 *thun-rva*

22 *las-phur*

23 *nya-bo*

25–27 *sman-rak gtor-gsum*

28 *sher-rten*

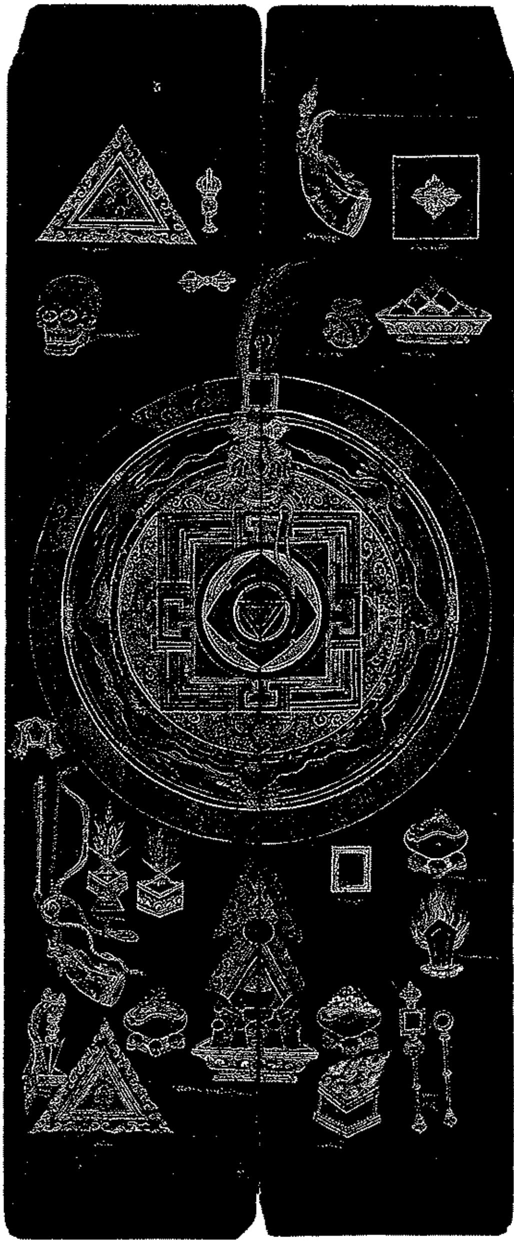
29 *gsang-rdzas*

30 *rtsal-dbang*

31 *me-hom*

32 *dgang-gzar*

33 *blugs-gzar*



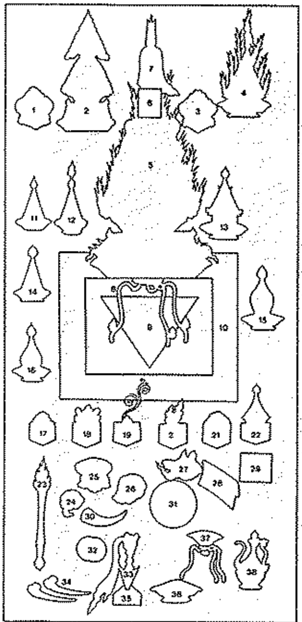


Plate 19

Ritual objects used in the rite for the suppressing of evil spirits according to the ritual cycle: *rDo-rje gro-lod gnam-lcags 'bar-ba*, cf. *H* 280–88.

1–3 cf. Plate 1, Nos. 27–29

4 *torma* used as hurled offering

5 *torma* representing the deity *rDo-rje gro-lod*

6 *tsakali*

7 arrow

8 tripod

9 *liṅga*

10 enclosure made of barberry shrub sticks (*rtsang-ra*)

11 *torma* for the *Ma-mo* goddesses

12 *torma* for *Rāhula*

13 *torma* for *rDo-rje legs-pa*

14 *torma* for the four she-demons

15 *torma* for the *sMan-mo* goddesses

16 *torma* for *Beg-tse*

17 blood in place of water (*khrag-gi mchod-yon*)

18 heart and eyes in place of flowers (*dbang-po'i me-tog*)

19 burning human flesh in place of incense (*sha-chen-gyi bdug-spos*)

20 melted human-fat lamp (*tshil-chen-gyi mar-me*)

21 fluid of the gall-bladder in place of the scented water (*mkhris-pa'i dri-chab*)

22 *torma* made of flesh and bones (*sha-rus-kyi zhal-zas*)

23 ritual sword

24 variegated cord, cf. Plate 3, No. 15

25 hurled liquid offerings, cf. Plate 3, No. 20

26 skull, cf. Plate 3, No. 15

27 fox-skull used in the imprecation rites

28 piece of cloth woven with yak's hair and used for covering the *liṅga*

29 cloth used for wrapping the *liṅga*

30 ox horn, cf. Plate 3, Nos. 17, 20

31 water-mill

32 sealing-wax

33 ritual dagger

34 pair of trumpets made of human bones

35 ritual receptacle

36 plate containing small triangular *torma* used in the libation, see No. 37

37 bowl resting on a tripod for offering tea

38 ritual tea-pot

INSCRIPTIONS

1–3 *sman-rak gtor-gsum*

4 *thun-gtor*

11 *ma-mo*

12 *gza'*

13 *rdor-legs*

14 *bdud-mo bzhi*

15 *sman-mo*

16 *gnod-sbyin*

17–22 *drag-po'i nyer-spyod*, items for special use in the violent rites. These items are also known as *nang-mchod* 'esoteric offerings'

23 *sgrol-gri*

24 *tshon-skud*

25 *thun*

26 *mnan-thod*

27 *va-thod*

28 *re-ba*

29 *ro-g.yam*

30 *thun-rva*

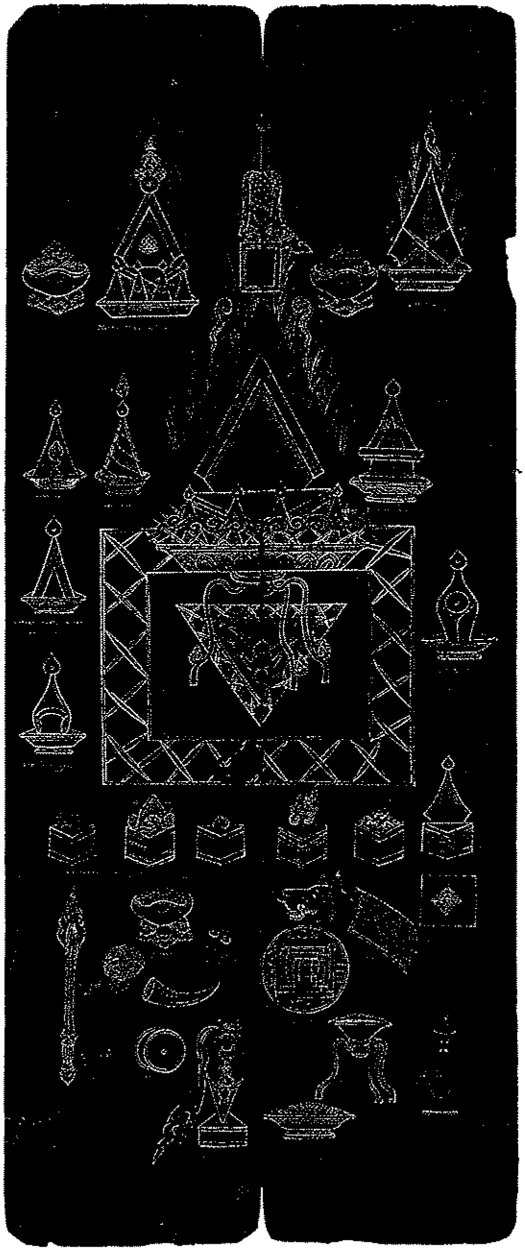
31 *rang-'thag*

32 *la-cha*

33 *las-phur*

34 *mi-rkang gling-bu*

37 *gser-skyems*



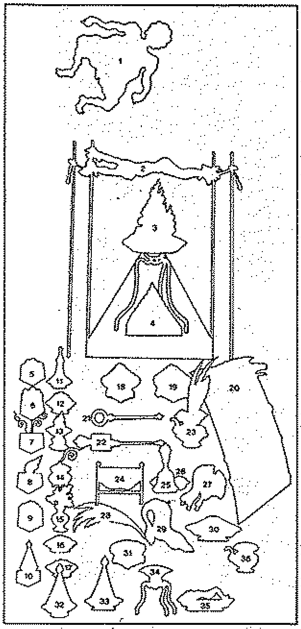


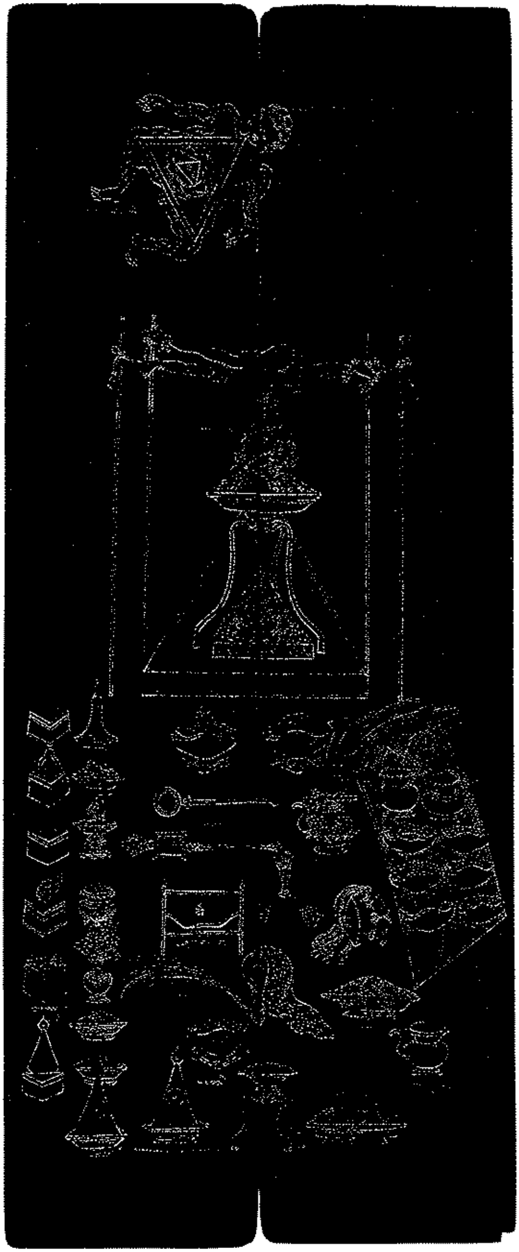
Plate 20

Ritual items used in the *homa* rite according to the ritual cycle: *rDo-rje gro-lod gnam-lcags 'bar-ba*, cf. *H* 285.

1 *maṇḍala* of the *homa* rite
2 *liṅga*
3 oil
4 fire-pit
5–10 cf. Plate 19, Nos. 17–22
11–17 cf. Plate 17, Nos. 22–26
18 medicinal offering
19 blood offering
20 items to be burned in the *homa* rite
21–22 ritual ladles, cf. Plate 18, Nos. 20–21
23 vase used in the ablution ritual
24 fan
25 bell
26 *vajra*
27 hand-drum
28 *kuśa* grass
29 ritual garment
30 barley
31 piper betel leaf
32–33 *torma* representing the divinities within this world and beyond
34 bowl
35 *liṅga* to be placed in the ritual receptacle
36 vase containing a liquid

INSCRIPTIONS

1 *sbyin-sreg dkyil-'khor*
2 *liṅga*
3 *mar-nag*
5–10 *phyi-yi nyer-spyod*
11–17 *nang-gi nyer-spyod*
18–19 *sman-rak* (= *sman dang rakta*)
20 *sreg-rdzas*
21–22 *dgang-blugs* (= *dgang-gzar dang blugs-gzar*)
23 *las-bum*
24 *rlung-g.yab*
27 *damaru*
29 *gos-thung*
30 *nas*
31 *so-rtsi*
32–33 *'das ma-'das-kyi gtor-ma*
34 *phud-phor*
35 *hom-khung liṅga*
36 *phud-rgyan*



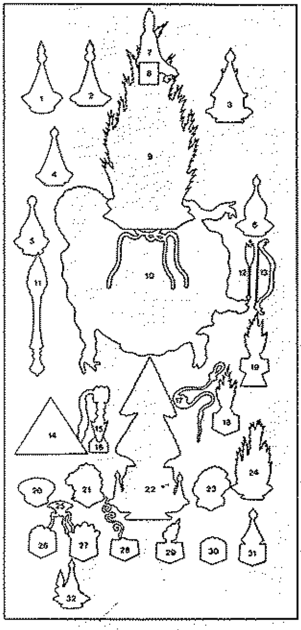


Plate 21

Ritual objects used in the rite of averting evil spirits using *torma* (*gtor-zor*) according to the ritual cycle: *rDo-rje gro-lod gnam-lcags 'bar-ba*, cf. *H* 288-89.

1 *torma* for the *Ma-mo* goddesses
2 *torma* for *Rāhula*
3 *torma* for *rDo-rje legs-pa*
4 *torma* for the she-demons
5 *torma* for *Beg-tse*
6 *torma* for the *sMan-mo* goddesses
7 arrow
8 *tsakali*
9 the principal *torma* representing *rDo-rje gro-lod*
10 *linga*
11 ritual sword
12 arrow
13 bow
14 *linga*
15 ritual dagger
16 ritual receptacle
17 sling
18–19 hurled offerings
20 small *torma* used in the libation, cf. No. 25 below; Plate 19, No. 36
21–23 cf. Plate 1, Nos. 27–29
24 hurled *torma*
25 tea used as offering in libation, cf. Plate 19, No. 37
26–31 cf. Plate 19, Nos. 17–22
32 *torma* for the obstructing spirits

INSCRIPTIONS

1 *ma-mo*
2 *gza'*
3 *rdor-legs*
4 *bdud-mo*
5 *gnod-sbyin*
6 *sman-mo*
11 *sgrol-gri*
15 *las-phur*
18–19 *zor-rdzas*
21–23 *sman-rak gtor-gsum*
24 *thun-gtor*
25 *gser-skyems*
26–31 *drag-po'i nyer-spyod*
32 *bgegs-gtor*

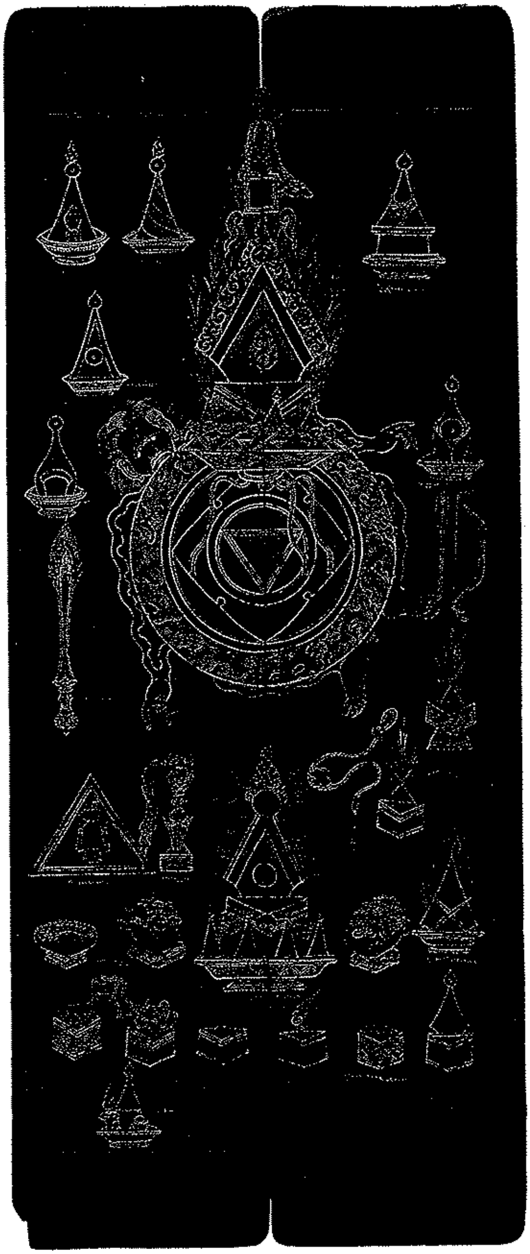


Plate 22

Cakras used in the rite of *rDo-rje gro-lod*, cf. *H* 289.

A. *cakra* for protection, usually drawn on paper and then folded and kept in a charm box (*ga'u*)

B. *cakra* for warding off evil spirits

C. '*cakra* that can be used for any of the following purposes: slaying, suppressing, burning and hurling the opponent', cf. *H* 288

D. '*cakra* that can be used for the rite of slaying, suppressing, burning and hurling the evil spirits, such as *dam-sri*. In the case of the *homa* rite, one should draw flames in place of scorpions and the *liṅga*'s arms and feet should be stretched', cf. *H* 289.

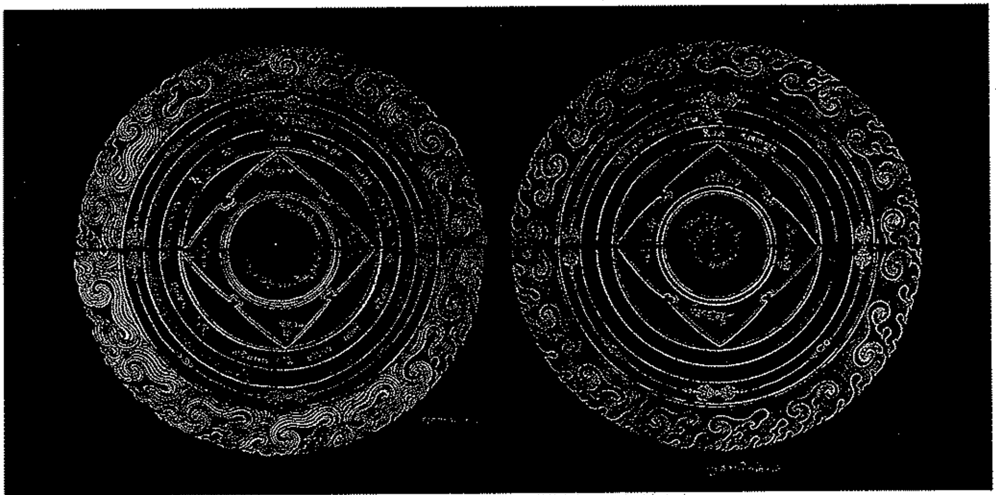
INSCRIPTIONS

A. *srung-ba'i 'khor-lo*

B. *zlog-pa'i 'khor-lo*

C. *dgra-bo bsad-mnan bsreg-'phang gang la sbyar chog-pa'i 'khor-lo*

D. *rgyal-bsen dam-sri 'byung-po'i rigs la bsad-mnan bsreg-'phang kha-bsgyur chog-pa'i 'khor-lo | hom la sdig-pa'i mtshan-du me-dpung 'bri-zhing nya-bo yan-lag brgyangs-nas mchong-ba'i tshul |*





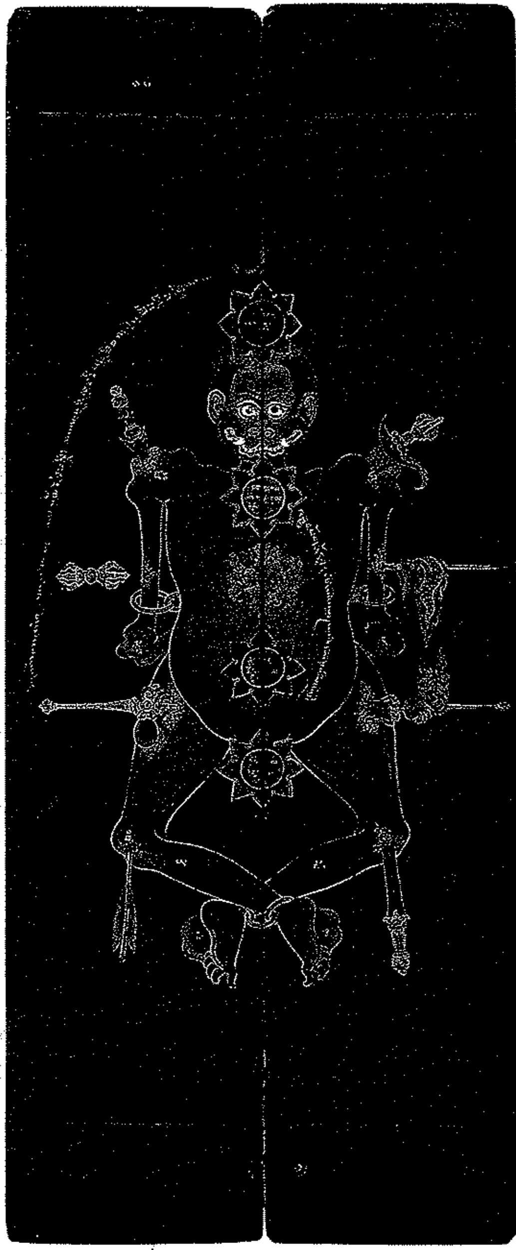


Plate 23

Liṅga representing evil spirits drawn according to the *rDo-rje gro-lod gnam-lcags 'bar-ba*, cf. *H* 288-89.

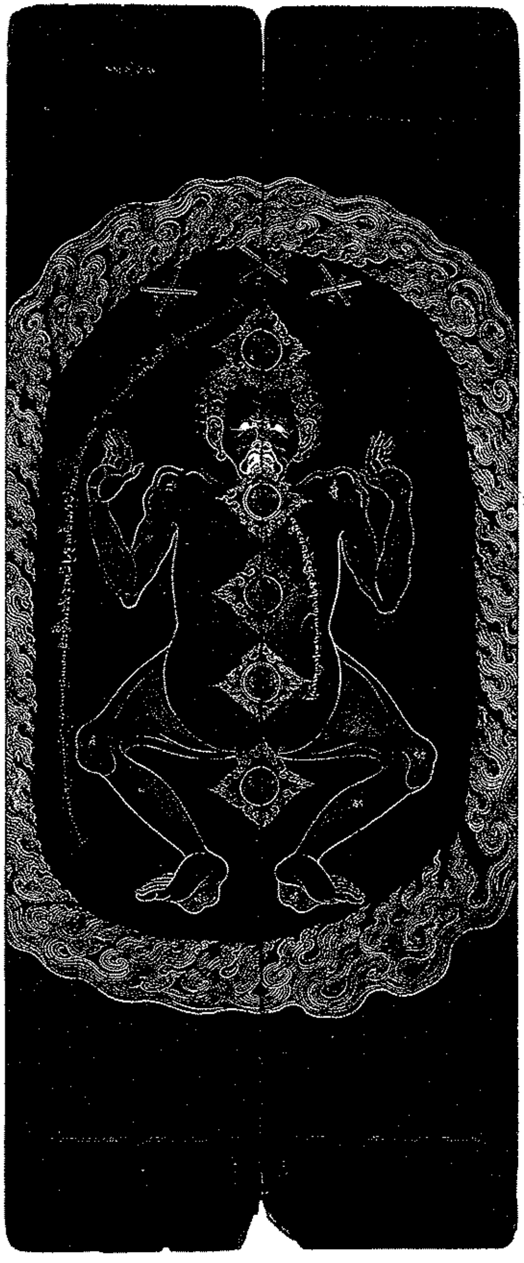


Plate 24

Linga representing evil spirits to be used in the *homa*-rite in the ritual cycle of *rDo-rje gro-lod gnam-lcags 'bar-ba*, cf. *H* 289.

dMag-zor (Plates 25–38)

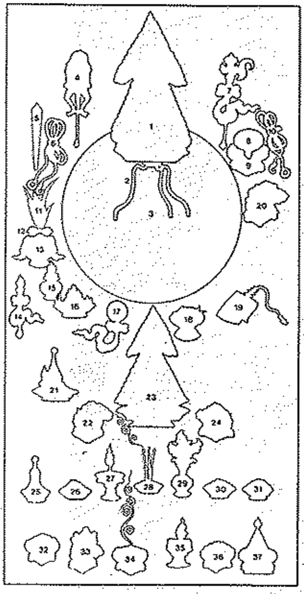


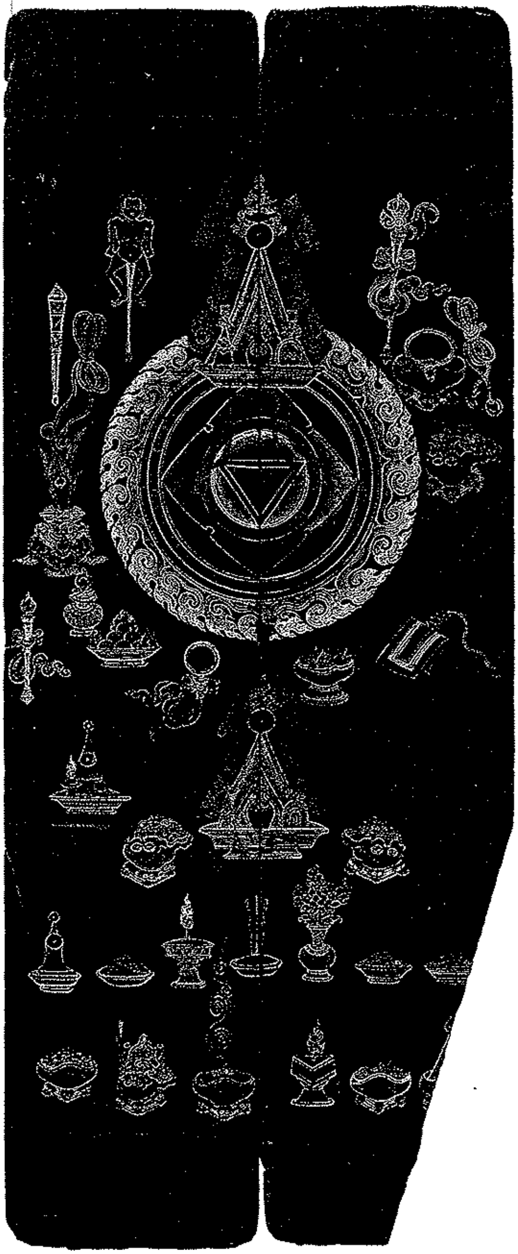
Plate 25

Ritual items used in the empowerment ceremony of *dPal-ldan lha-mo* and her four attendants, cf. p. 31. See also Text VI which contains instructions on the performance of this ceremony.

1 *torma* representing *dPal-ldan lha-mo*
2 tripod
3 *maṇḍala* of the ritual cycle
4 stick with a corpse impaled on it (*ro-dbyug*)
5 wooden tablet bearing a 'black-list' (*khram-shing*)
6 lasso, cf. Plate 14, No. 4
7 hook (*lcags-kyu*)
8 mirror, cf. Plate 3, No. 31; Plate 13 B, No. 4
9 skull-cup
10 cf. No. 6 above
11 *khagyen*
12 *vajra*
13 vase used for ablution
14 staff, cf. Plate 9 B, No. 7
15 vase
16 jewel, symbol of *dPal-ldan lha-mo* in her aspect for prosperity
17 mirror, symbol of *dPal-ldan lha-mo* in her aspect for tranquillity
18 plate containing fruits
19 cf. Plate 1, No. 16
20 skull-cup
21 *torma* for the obstructing spirits
22–24 cf. Plate 1, Nos. 27–29
25–31 cf. Plate 17, Nos. 22–26
32–37 cf. Plate 19, Nos. 17–22

INSCRIPTIONS

16 *rgyas-pa*
17 *zhi-ba*
21 *bgegs-gtor*
22–24 *sman-rak gtor-gsum*
32–37 illegible, but probably *nang-mchod*



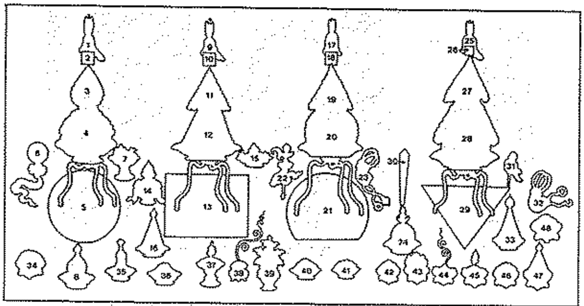


Plate 26

Torma used in the empowerment ceremony of *dPal-ldan lha-mo* and her four attendants. They are described in Text VI and VIII, see p. 68.

A. Items for the tranquil ritual

1 arrow

2 *tsakali*

3 mirror

4 *torma* representing the tranquillity aspect of *dPal-ldan lha-mo*

5 circle (*zlum-po*), symbol of tranquillity

6 mirror

7 silver bowl containing medicinal offerings

8 *torma* for offering to *dPal-ldan lha-mo* in aspect of tranquillity

B. Items for the ritual of prosperity

9 arrow

10 *tsakali*

11 jewel

12 *torma* representing the prosperity aspect of the goddess

13 square (*gru-gzhi*), symbol of prosperity

14 vase

15 trough

16 *torma* for offering to the goddess in aspect of prosperity

C. Items for the ritual of subjugation

17 arrow

18 *tsakali*

19 hook

20 *torma* representing the subjugation aspect of the goddess

21 crescent (*zla-gam*), symbol of the subjugation

22 hook

23 lasso

24 *torma* for offering to the goddess in her aspect of subjugation

D. Items for the violent ritual

25 arrow

26 *tsakali*

27 wooden tablet, cf. Plate 25, No. 5

28 *torma* representing the violent aspect of the goddess

29 triangular (*gru-gsum*), symbol of violence

30 cf. No. 27 above

31 cf. Plate 25, No. 4

32 lasso

33 *torma* for offering to the goddess in wrathful aspect

34 medicinal offering

35–41 cf. Plate 17, Nos. 22–26

42–47 cf. Plate 19, Nos. 17–22

48 blood-offering

INSCRIPTIONS

1–8 *zhi-ba*

9–16 *rgyas-pa*

17–24 *dbang*

25–34, 48 *drag-mo*

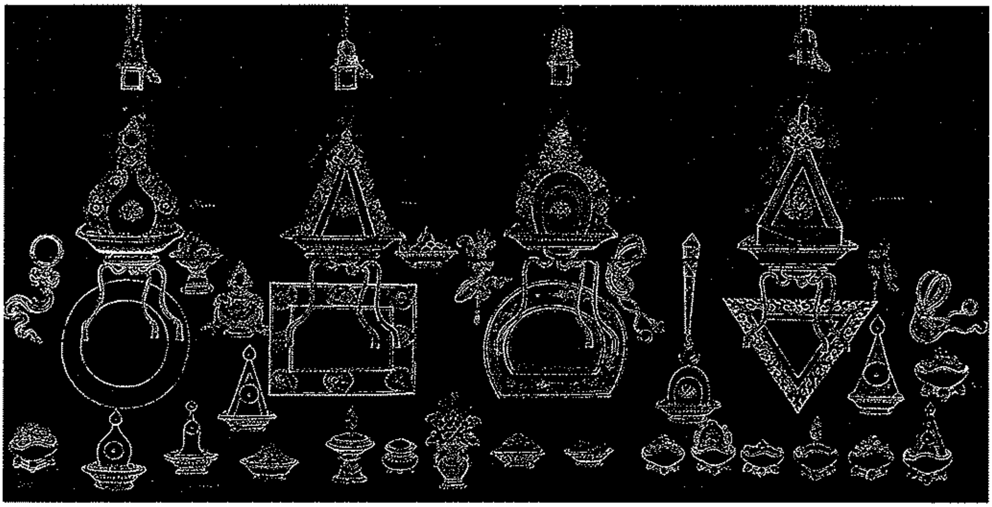
34 *sman*

35–41 *phyi-mchod*

42–47 *nang-mchod*

48 *rakta*





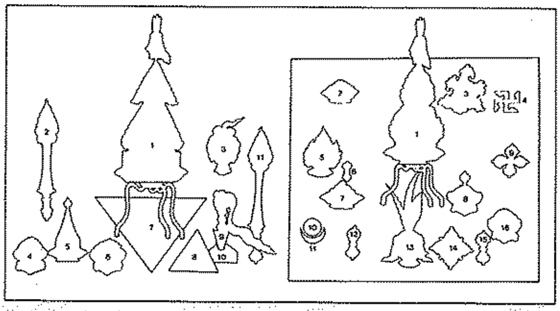


Plate 27

A. Ritual items used in the empowerment ceremony of the goddess *gSang-sgrub*, a special aspect of *dPal-ldan lha-mo.*

1 *torma* representing the goddess *gSang-sgrub*

2 ritual sword

3 fresh human head

4–6 cf. Plate 1, Nos. 27–29

7 ritual receptacle

8 ritual receptacle used in the empowerment initiation of magic rite

9 ritual dagger

10 see No. 9 above

11 ritual sword

INSCRIPTIONS

1 *gsang-sgrub*

4–6 *sman-rak gtor-gsum*

8 *mthu-dbang*

B. Ritual items used in the empowerment initiation of longevity focusing upon the goddess *dPal-ldan lha-mo*, see p. 31.

1 *torma* for use in the empowerment ceremony of longevity (*tshe-dbang*)

2 water of long life

3 flower

4 *swastika*

5 jewel

6 *vajra*

7 pills

8 ale

9 crossed-*vajra*

10 sun

11 moon

12 see No. 6 above

13 vase

14 wheel

15 see Nos. 6 and 12

16 medicinal liquid for offering

INSCRIPTIONS

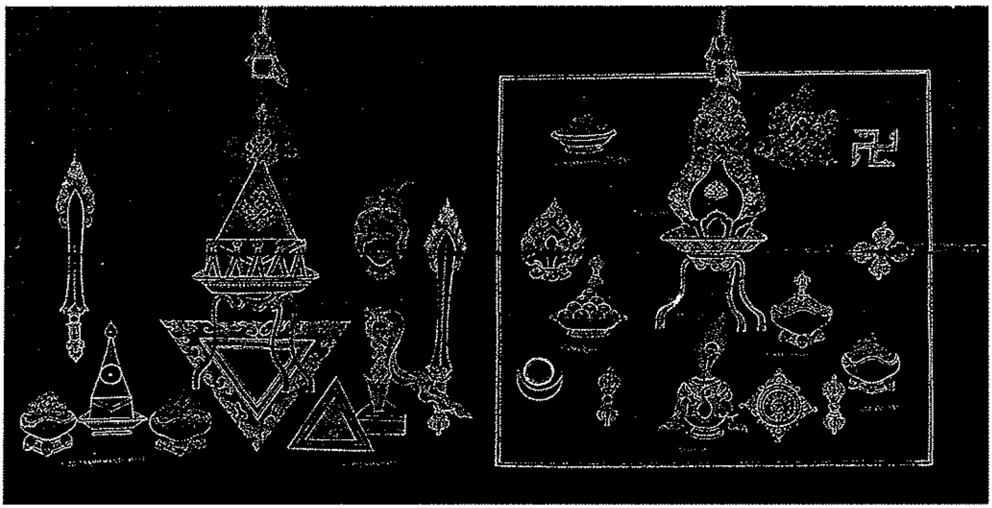
2 *rgyun-'bab-kyi chu*

7 *tshe-ril*

8 *tshe-chang*

13 *dbang-bum*

16 *sman-phud*



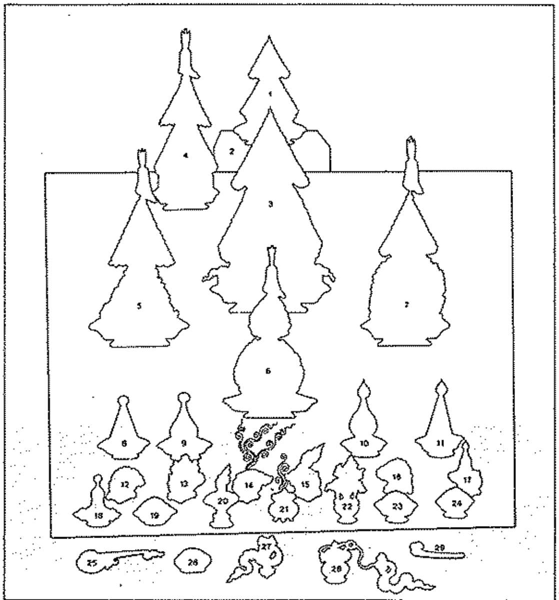


Plate 28

Various types of *torma* representing *dPal-ldan lha-mo* and her four attendants as described in Text VIII, see p. 69.

1 *torma* representing the *Phur-pa* deity

2 receptacle for keeping a type of *torma* out of sight

3 *torma* representing *dPal-ldan lha-mo* herself

4 *torma* representing the wrathful aspect of *dPal-ldan lha-mo*, cf. Plate 26, No. 28

5 *torma* representing the prosperity aspect of the goddess, cf. Plate 26, No. 12

6 *torma* representing the tranqulillity aspect of the goddess, cf. Plate 26, No. 4

7 *torma* representing the subjugation aspect of the goddess, cf. Plate 26, No. 20

8 *torma* representing the four *bDud-mo*

9 *torma* representing *Beg-tse*

10 *torma* representing the *sMan-mo* goddesses: *sKyin-mthing-ma* and *Khri-sman sa-le-ma*

11 *torma* representing the protectors of the *Phur-pa* cycle

12–17 cf. Plate 19, Nos. 17–22

18–24 cf. Plate 17, Nos. 22–26

25 ladle containing an unidentified liquid

26 bowl containing an unidentified substance

27 *vajra*

28 incense-burner (*spos-phor*)

29 human bone trumpet

INSCRIPTIONS

1 *phur-pa*

3 *gtso-mo*, 'chief'; *'di rten-gtor gtso-bo byas-pa yin-gyi rgyun-gtor la rtsang 'khor-lo sogs mi-dgos pa'i phyag-len mthong-brgyun (rgyun) zhal-shes la ltos /*.
'This *torma* is mainly in the form of the *rten-gtor*. For the *rgyun-gtor*, one does not need *rtsang* sticks and wheel, etc. Consult the manual instructions', i.e. Text VIII, p. 69

4 *drag-mo*

5 *rgyas-pa*

6 *zhi-ba*

7 *dbang*

8 *bdud*

9 *gnod-sbyin*

10 *sman-mo*

11 *phur-srung*

12–17 *nang-mchod*

18–24 *phyi-mchod*

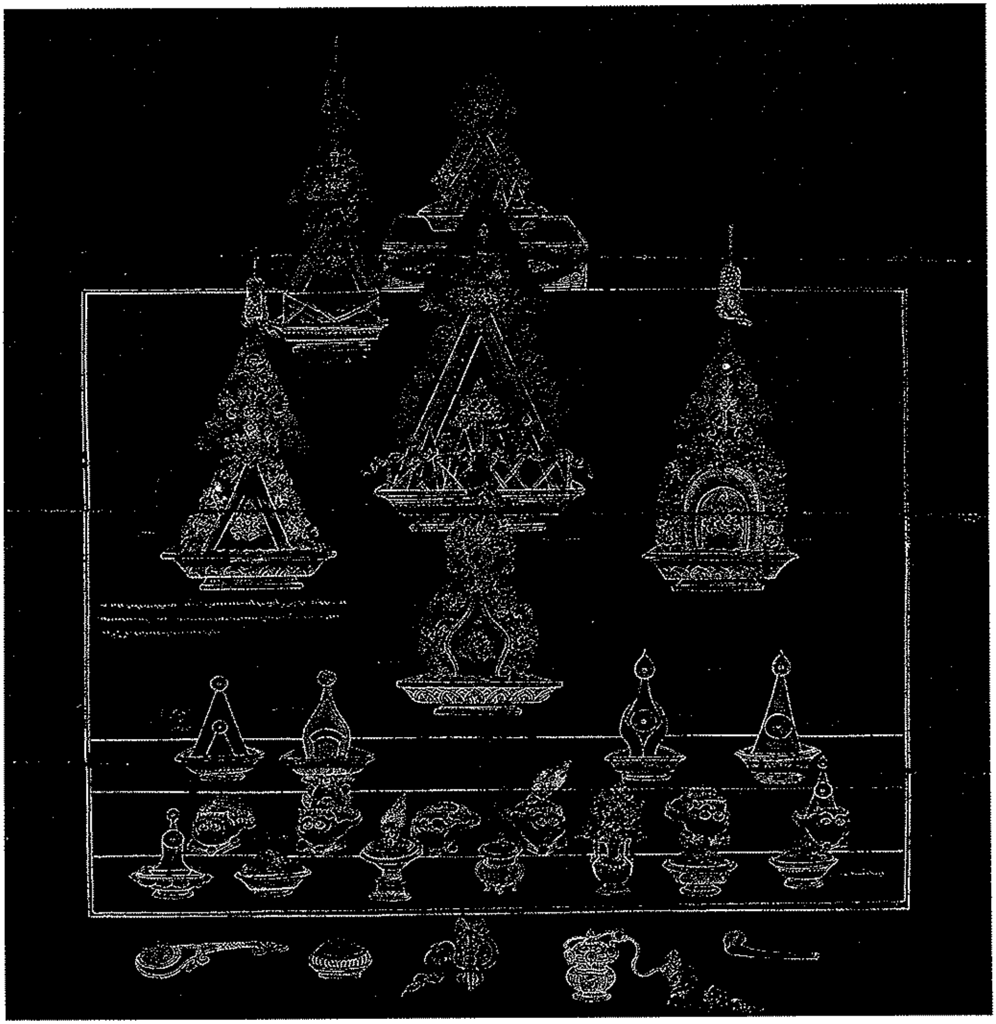
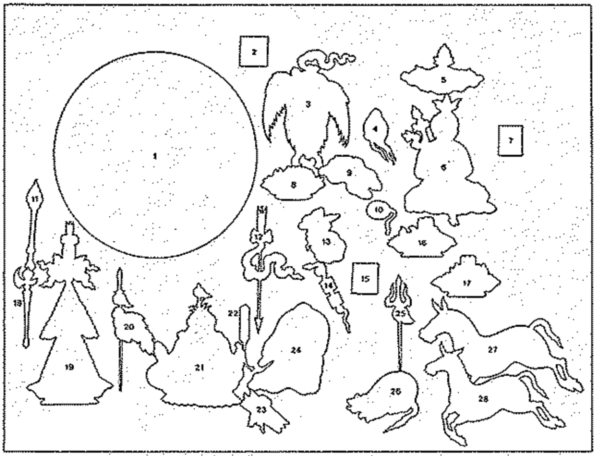


Plate 29

Various ritual objects used in the propitiation of the goddess *dPal-ldan lha-mo*. These ritual objects are however not mentioned in the texts, see inscription below (No. 1).



1 '*cakra* of the vital-force' (*srog-'khor*), to be placed in the *rten-gtor* representing *gTso-mo*, i.e. *dPal-ldan lha-mo*, see Text VIII, p. 69

2 *tsakali* bearing *gTso-mo*

3 dead crow as the 'support' (*rten*) for the goddess *gTso-mo*

4 heart as the *rten* for the goddess *gSang-sgrub*

5 parasol (*gdugs*)

6 corpse holding the staff (*be-con*) and skull-cup full of blood (*thod-khrag*). They are the 'support' for the goddess *Drag-mo*

7 *tsakali* bearing *Drag-mo*

8 grains and medicinal offerings for *gTso-mo*

9 thorianite, symbol of *dPal-ldan lha-mo*'s soul (*bla-rdo*)

10 variegated cord used for binding the *cakra* which is first drawn on paper and then folded to be bound with the thread

11 ritual sword

12 arrow

13 'bag of disease'

14 dice

15 *tsakali* of *gSang-sgrub*

16 grains and medicinal offerings for *Drag-mo*

17 grains and medicinal offerings for *gSang-sgrub*

18 ritual axe

19 *torma* for offering, cf. Text VIII, p. 69

20 spear (*mdung*)

21 coat of mail together with helmet; the bow case on the right and quiver on the left

22 wooden tablet, cf. Plate 25, No. 5

23 cf. No. 22 above

24 garment made of cloth woven with yak's hair

25 trident

26 mongoose

27 mule

28 donkey

INSCRIPTIONS

1 *srog-'khor 'di gnas-gsar rdo-rje-'chang-gis bdag-la gnang-ba lags / chos-bdag-tu rlom-pa tshor-ni rlung-phyogs-tsam du'ang sgra mi-bsgrags-pa snang /*
'This *cakra* is drawn according to the instructions given to me (i.e. the Dalai Lama) by *gNas-gsar rDo-rje-'chang* (i.e. *mGon-po bsod-nams mchog-ldan*). They are not given at all to any of his disciples who claim to be the masters of his doctrines.'

3 *phyi-rten*, 'external support'

3 *gsang-rten*, 'hidden support'

6 *nang-rten*, 'internal support'

9 *pha-bong long-bu*

10 *tshon-skud*

11 *ral-gri*

13 *nad-rkyal*

14 *sho(shvo)-rdel*

15 *tsakali*

16 *'bru-sman gzungs*

17 *'bru-sman gzungs*

18 *dgra-sta (kha-che)*

19 *rgyun-gtor*

21 *go-cha*

22 *khram-shing*

23 illegible

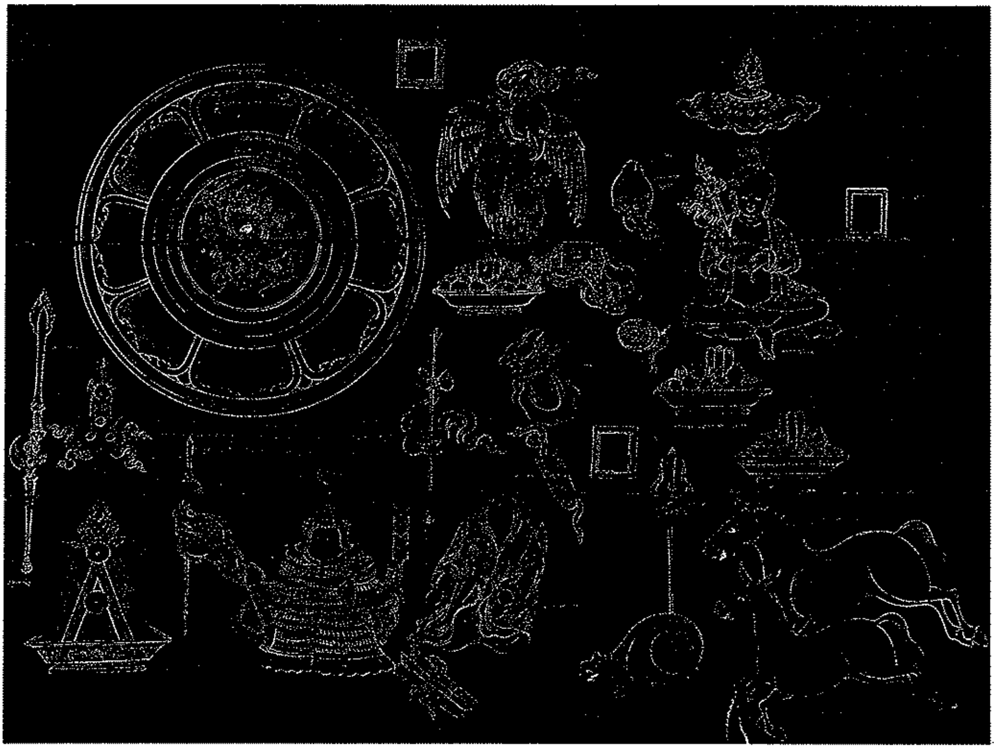
24 *re-nag-gi gos*

25 *rtse-gsum*

26 *ne'u-le*

27 *drel-gson*

28 *bong-gson*



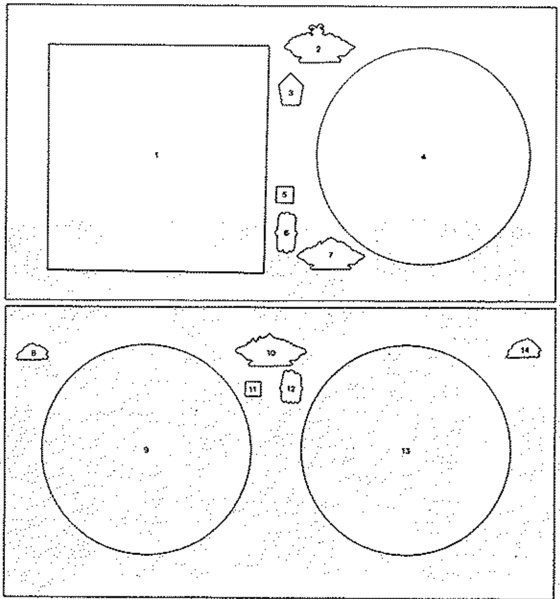


Plate 30

Cakras for various purposes in the ritual cycle of *dPal-ldan lha-mo* described in Text IX, p. 69.

1 *cakra* of the 'soul-stone' (*bla-rdo*) containing the *mantras* of the four aspects of *dPal-ldan lha-mo* and their attributes: mirror, jewel, tablet and hook in the four corners

2 bowl containing five kinds of precious articles: gold, silver, turquoise, coral and pearl to be placed in the *cakra*

3 crystal used in the ablution ritual

4 *cakra* of the 'soul-stone' representing the tranquil aspect of *dPal-ldan lha-mo*

5 'soul-stone', cf. Plate 29, No. 9

6 scrolls containing *mantras*

7 bowl containing grains and nuts to be scattered in the *cakra*

8 gold

9 *cakra* of the 'soul-stone' representing the prosperity aspect of *dPal-ldan lha-mo*

10 bowl containing various substances to be accompanied with the 'soul-stone'

11 'soul-stone', cf. Plate 29, No. 9

12 scrolls, cf. Plate 30, No. 6

13 *cakra* of the 'soul-stone', representing the subjugation aspect of *dPal-ldan lha-mo*

14 ruby

INSCRIPTIONS

1 *las-bzhi chig-dril-gyi bla-rdo'i srog-'khor*

2 *rin-chen lnga*

3 *shel*

4 *zhi-ba'i lha-mo bla-rdo'i srog-'khor*

5 *rdo pha-bong long-bu*

6 *gzungs*

7 *'bru-sman*

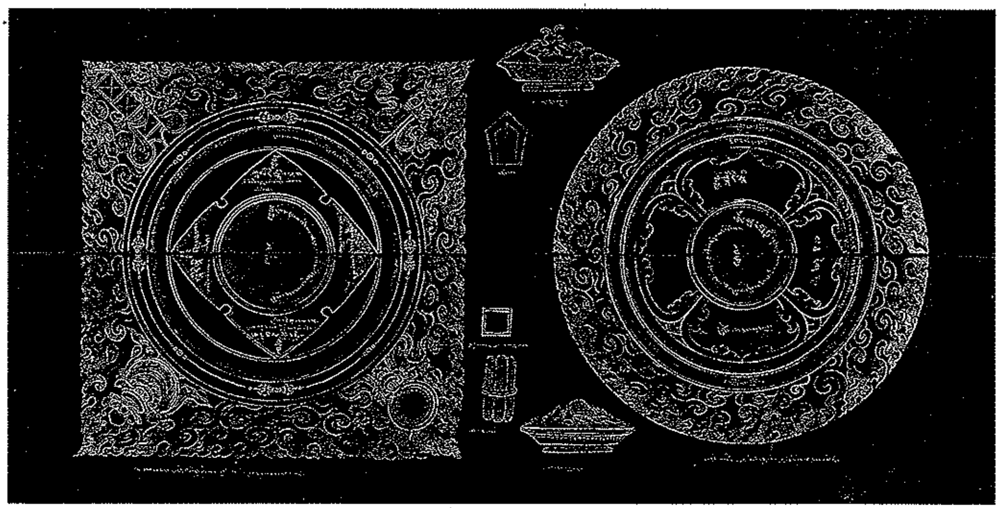
8 *gser*

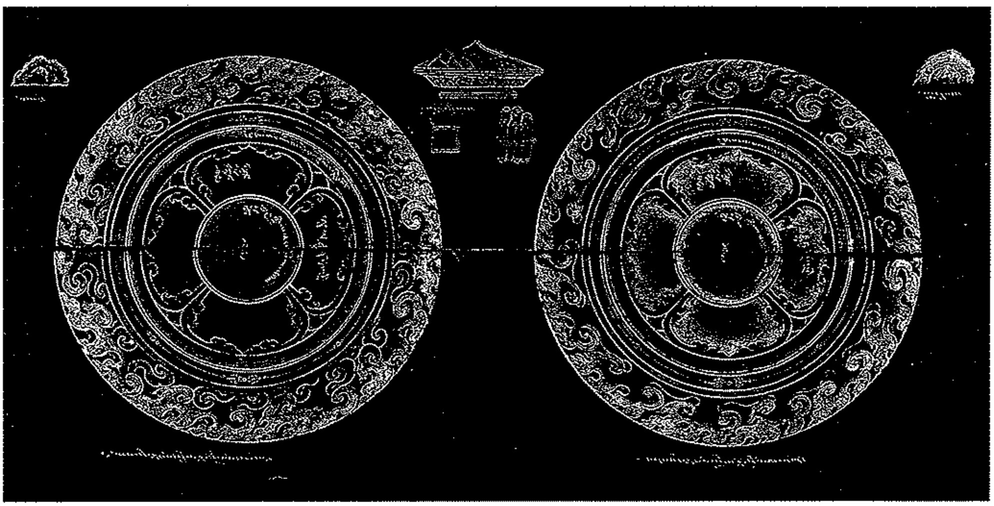
9 *rgyas-pa'i lha-mo'i bla-rdo'i srog-'khor*

10 *bla-rdo'i rdzas*

13 *dbang-gi lha-mo'i bla-rdo'i srog-'khor*

14 *padmaraga*





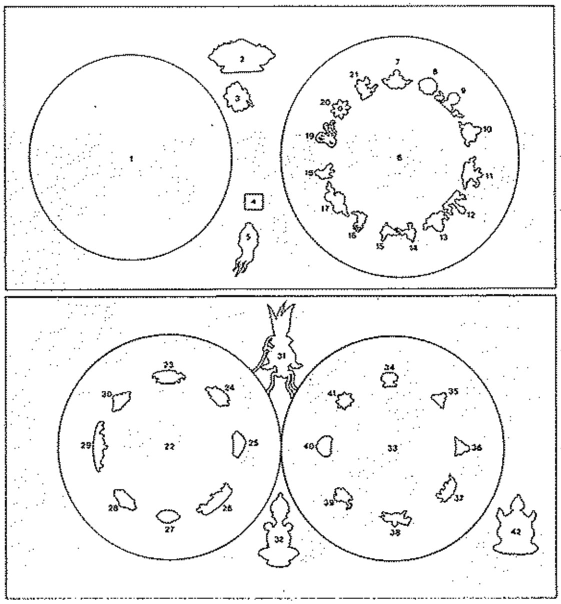


Plate 31

Cakras and other ritual articles used in the ritual cycle of the goddess *dPal-ldan lha-mo*. Text IX contains instructions on how to draw these *cakras*, see p. 69.

1 *cakra* of the 'soul-stone' (*bla-rdo*) representing the wrathful aspect of *dPal-ldan lha-mo*

2 grains and nuts

3 scrolls, cf. Plate 30, No. 6

4 'soul-stone', cf. Plate 29, No. 9

5 heart of a child born of incestuous union

6 *cakra* for protecting from harmful spirits. It serves as an amulet

7 staff

8 skull-cup

9 mirror

10 vase

11 hook

12 sword

13 *vajra*

14 arrow

15 spear

16 trident

17 crooked-knife (*gri-gug*)

18 corpse-staff (*ro-dbyug*)

19 lasso

20 wheel

21 axe

22 *cakra* for dissipating illnesses

23–30 unidentified medicinal plants and nuts

31 vase used for dissipating illnesses

32 *torma* used for dissipating illnesses

33 *cakra* for acquiring wealth

34 jewel

35 king

36 queen

37 elephant

38 horse

39 general

40 gem

41 wheel (these last seven are known as *rin-chen sna-bdun*, the seven precious items)

42 receptacle in which the drawn *cakra* is placed

INSCRIPTIONS

1 *drag-po'i lha-mo'i bla-rdo'i srog-'khor*

5 *nal-bu'i snying*

6 *srung-ba'i 'khor-lo*

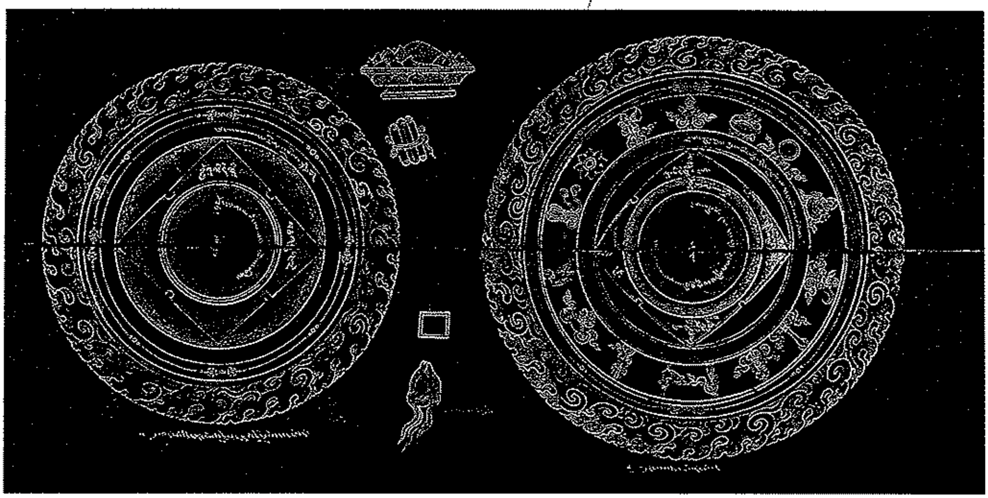
22 *nad zhi-ba'i 'khor-lo*

31 *bum-pa-la bren-nas nad zhi-ba*

32 *gtor-ma-la bren-nas nad zhi-ba*

33 *nor sgrub-pa'i 'khor-lo*

42 *'khor-lo 'jug-snod-kyi par-bu*



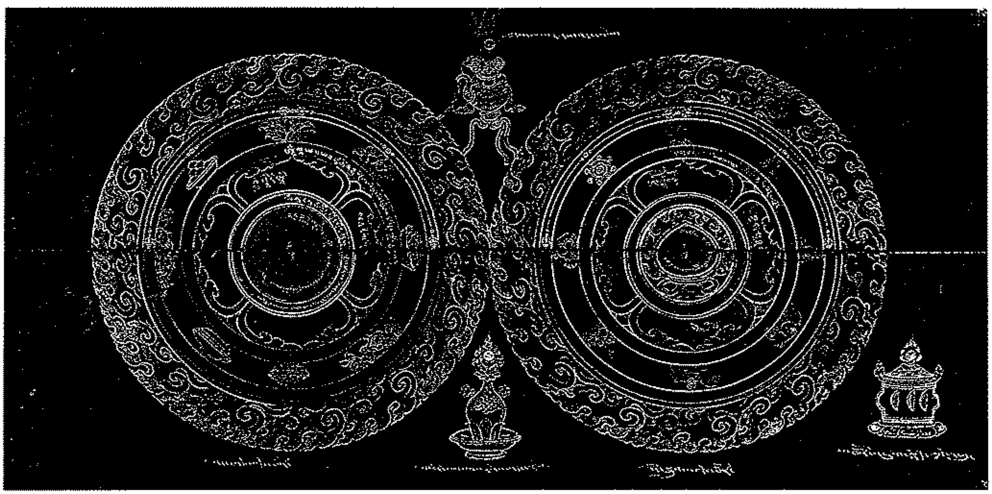
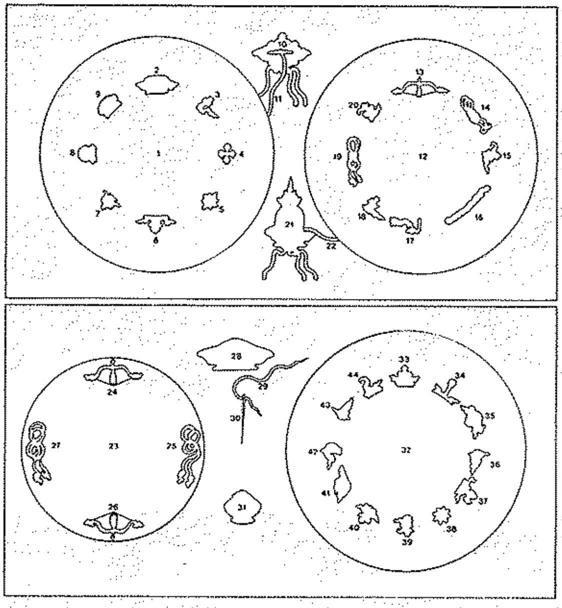


Plate 32

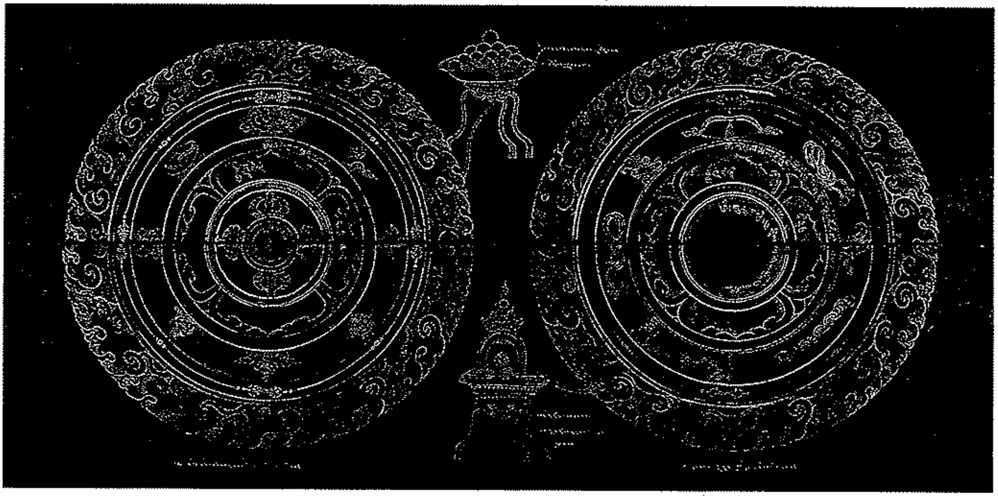
Cakras and other articles used in the ritual cycle of the goddess *dPal-ldan lha-mo*, cf. Text IX, p. 69.

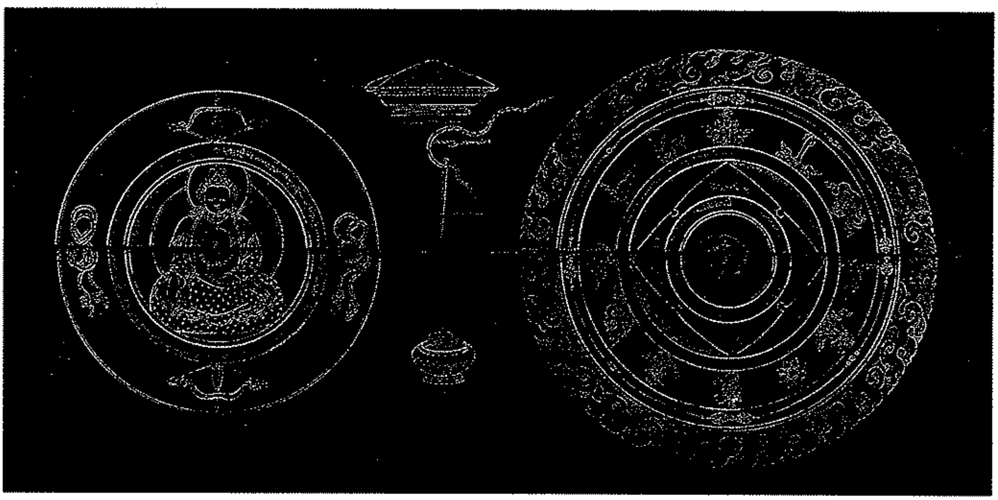


1 *cakra* for prolonging life
2 flowers
3 arrow
4 crossed-*vajra*
5 wheel
6 *vajra*
7 vase
8 jewel
9 skull-cup
10 pills used for prolonging life
11 variegated cord (*gzungs-thag*), cf. Plate 1, No. 11
12 *cakra* for subjugation
13 bow and arrow
14 lasso
15 hook
16 chain (*lcags-thag*)
17 banner
18 bell
19 see No. 14 above
20 see No. 15 above
21 *torma* used for subjugating foes
22 see No. 11 above
23 *cakra* for summoning spirits of foes represented by the figure in the centre
24 bow and arrow
25 lasso
26 see No. 25 above
27 see No. 24 above
28 copper trough containing grains
29 red thread
30 copper needle
31 bowl containing blood
32 *cakra* for warding off evil spirits
33 staff
34 ritual sword
35 crooked-knife
36 spear
37 axe
38 wheel
39 hook
40 hammer (*tho-ba*)
41 flame (*me-lce*)
42 ritual dagger
43 spear
44 see No. 39

INSCRIPTIONS

1 *tshe spel-ba'i 'khor-lo*
10 *ril-bu-la brten-nas tshe sgrub-pa*
12 *dbang-bsdud-kyi 'khor-lo*
21 *gtor-ma-la brten-nas dbang-du bya-ba*
23 *'gugs-pa'i 'khor-lo*
28 *zangs-gzhung 'brus bkang-ba*
29 *dar-skud dmar-po*
30 *zangs-khab*
31 *padmarakta*
32 *bzlog-pa'i 'khor-lo*





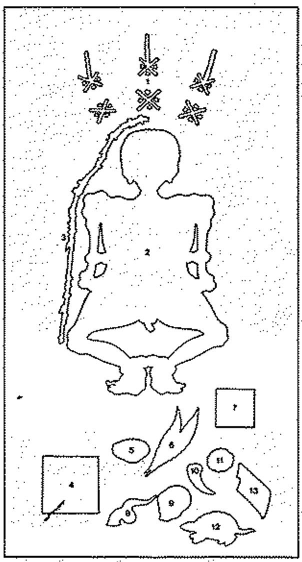


Plate 33

Ritual items used in imprecation rites as described in Text X, see p. 69.

1 sticks with syllables: *dza, lam, yam, ram* and *vam* used for making enclosure around the *liṅga*

2 *liṅga* representing the evil spirits or the foe

3 instructions on how and what *mantras* are to be inscribed in the *liṅga*

4 ritual receptacle

5 skull-cup containing the *thun* which consists of various substances believed to be unpleasant to evil spirits

6 owl feather

7 cloth used for wrapping the *liṅga*

8 dead person's hair

9 skull

10 ox horn

11 variegated cord, cf. Plate 3, No. 19

12 tortoise

13 cloth woven with yak's hair

INSCRIPTIONS

4 *'brub-khung*

5 *thun*

7 *ro-g.yam*

8 *shi-skra*

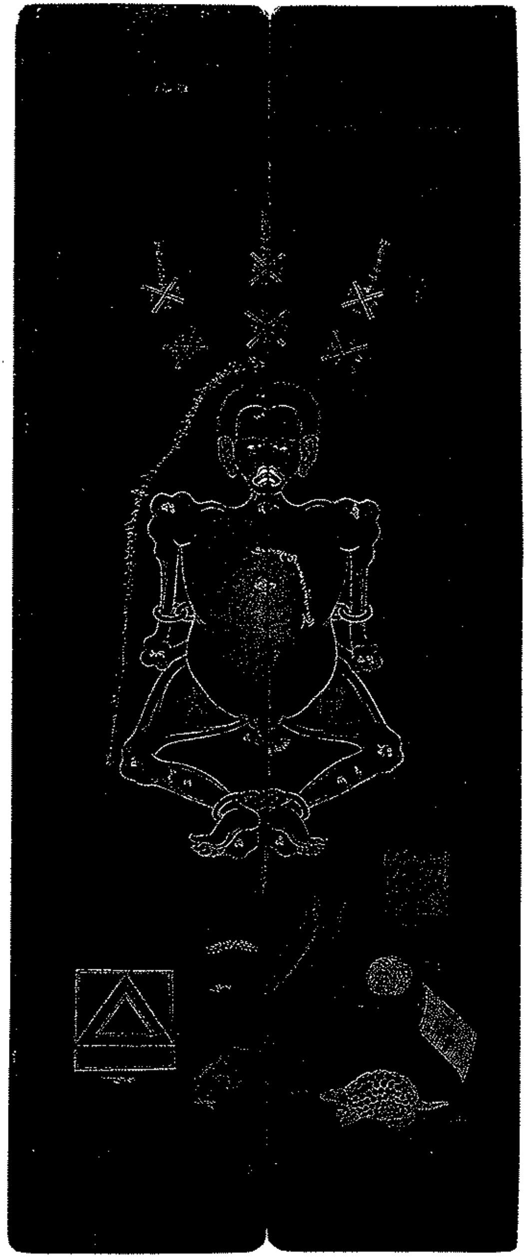
9 *thod-pa*

10 *glang-ru*

11 *tshon-skud*

12 *andhamushiṅg* (?)

13 *re-ba*



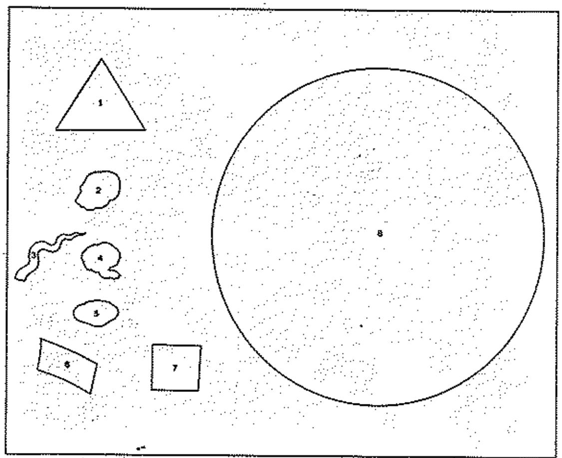


Plate 34

Cakra for quelling the *dam-sri* spirits, mentioned in Text X, see p. 69.

1 ritual receptacle
2 skull, cf. Plate 3, No. 15
3 dead person's hair
4 variegated cord
5 skull-cup containing the *thun*, cf. Plate 3, No. 20; Plate 35, No. 5
6 cloth of woven yak's hair
7 cloth for wrapping the *liṅga*
8 *cakra* containing *mantras* and four figures of harmful spirits (*sgab-'dre, dam-sri*)

INSCRIPTIONS
1 *'brub-khung*
2 *mnan-thod*
3 *shi-skra*
4 *tshon-skud*
5 *thun*
6 *re-ba*
7 *ro-g.yam*

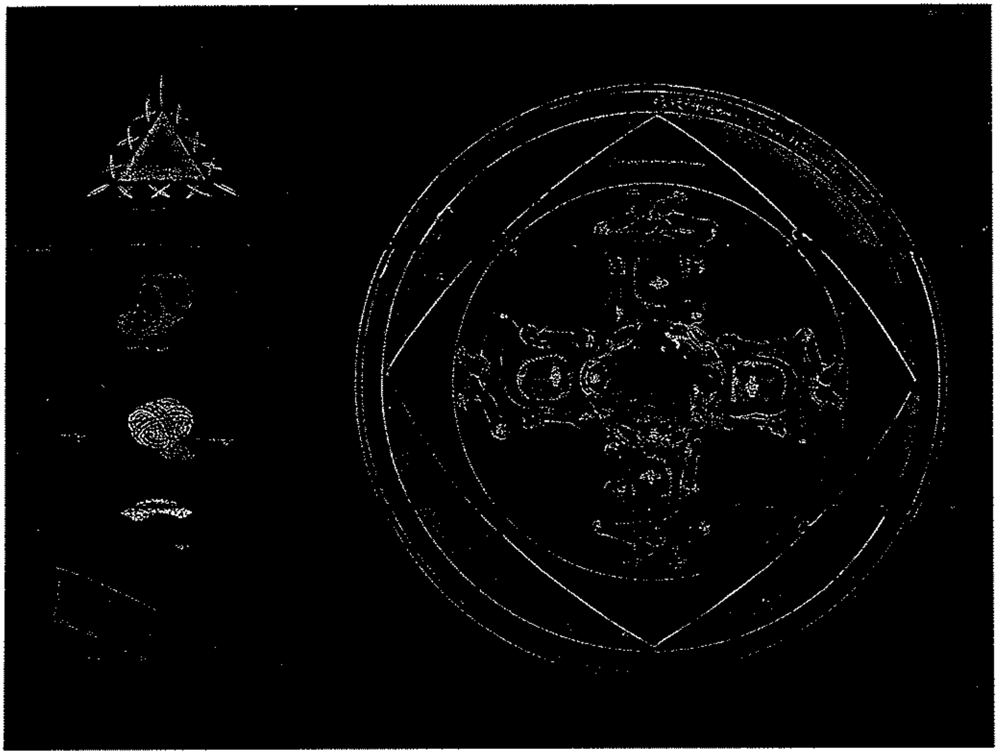
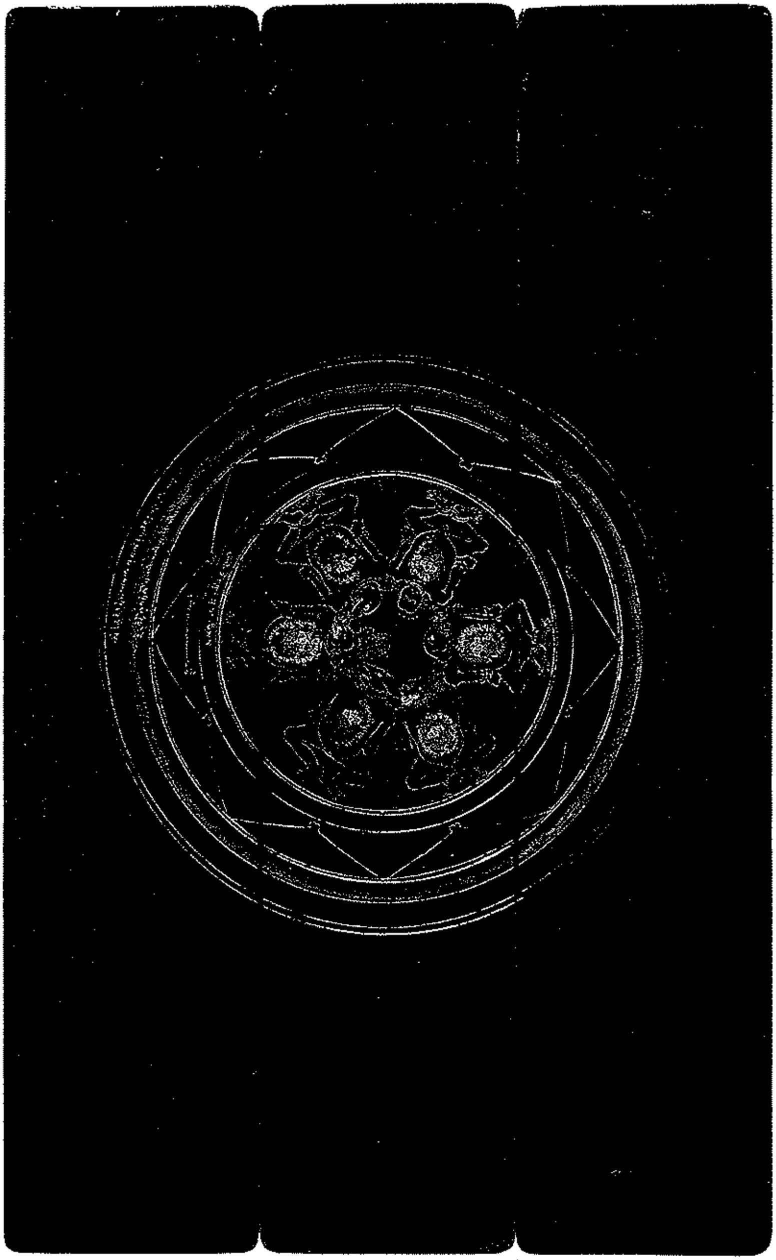


Plate 35

A *cakra* similar to that in Plate 34. It is stated in the title that this *cakra* is drawn according to instructions given by an 'old *rNying-ma-pa* tantrist' (*rnying-ma'i sngags-'chang rgan-po zhig*) who is probably *Zur Chos-dbyings rang-grol*, cf. Plate 38. This is not mentioned in any of the texts in the Gold Manuscript.



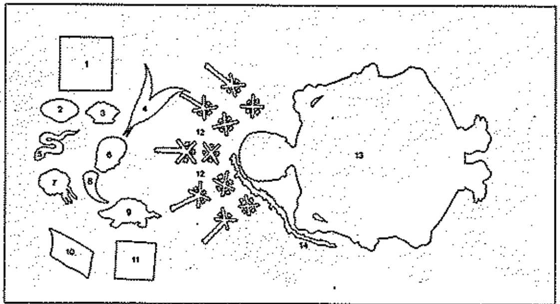
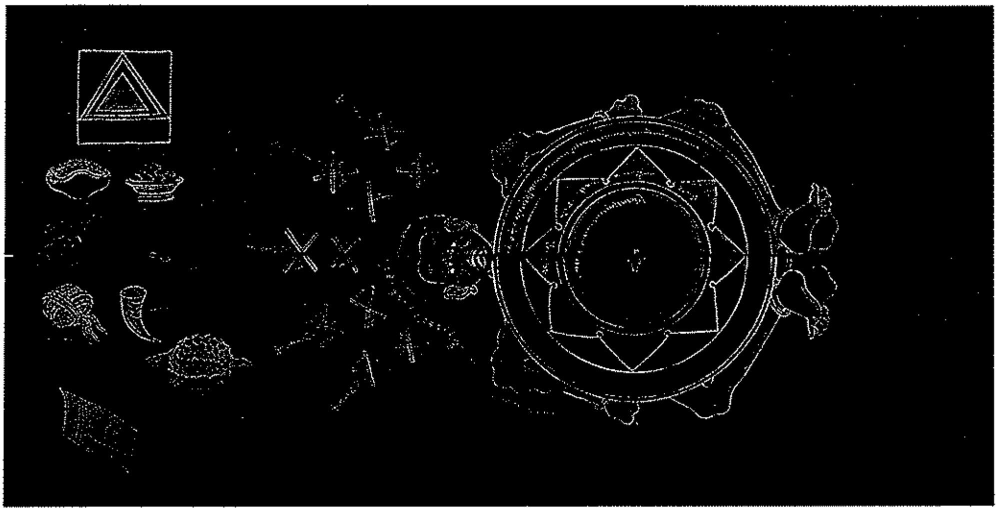


Plate 36

Ritual items and the *liṅga* used in the imprecation rite. This *liṅga* is described in Text XI, p. 69.

1 ritual receptacle
2 cf. Plate 3, No. 20
3 bowl containing an unidentified substance
4 owl feather
5 widow's hair
6 skull covered with lead
7 variegated cord, cf. Plate 34, No. 4
8 ox horn, cf. Plate 3, No. 17
9 cf. Plate 33, No. 12
10 cloth woven with yak's hair
11 cloth used for wrapping the *liṅga*
12 cf. Plate 33, No. 1
13 *liṅga*
14 instructions on how and what *mantras* are to be written on the *liṅga*

INSCRIPTIONS
1 *'brub-khung*
2 *thun*
3 *lha dbye-ba'i rdzas*, 'substance for making the protective deity of one's foe abandon him'
4 *bya-'ug-gi sgro*
5 *yugs-skra*
6 *thod-pa*
7 *tshon-skud*
8 *glang-ru*
9 *andhamusha* (?)
10 *re-ba*
11 *ro-g.yam*



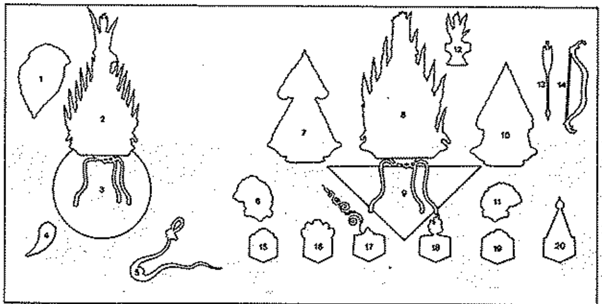


Plate 37

Ritual items used in the *gtor-zor* rite of *dPal-ldan lha-mo* in her aspect of *gTso-mo* and *gSang-sgrub* as described in Text XI, p. 69.

1 skull-cup full of blood

2 *torma* representing the goddess *gSang-sgrub*

3 ritual receptacle

4 ox horn, cf. Plate 3, No. 17

5 sling

6 skull-cup full of medicinal offering

7 *torma* for offering to the goddess *gTso-mo*

8 *torma* representing *gTso-mo*

9 ritual receptacle

10 *torma* for offering to the goddess *gSang-sgrub*

11 see No. 1 above

12 triangular receptacle containing the 'hurled offering' (*zor-rdzas*), cf. Plate 3, No. 14; Plate 21, Nos. 18–19

13 arrow

14 bow

15–20 cf. Plate 19, Nos. 17–22

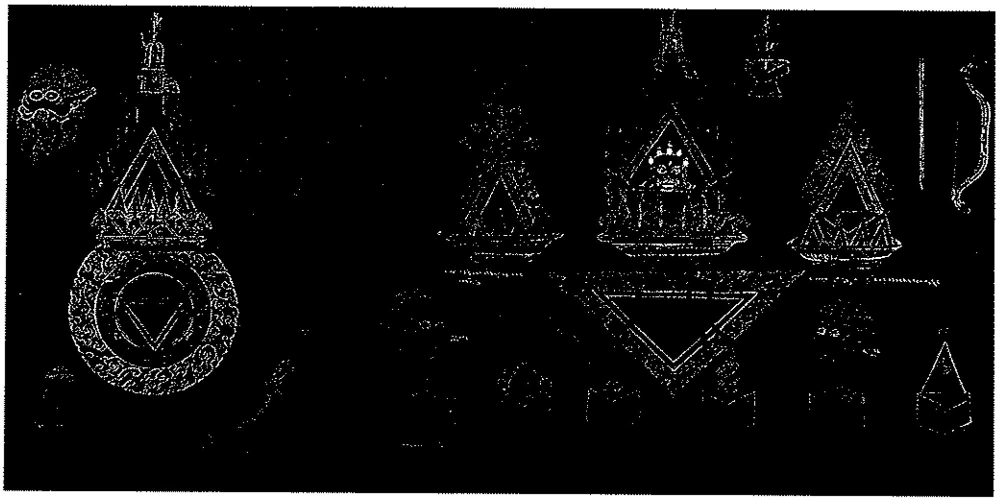
INSCRIPTIONS

4 *zor-rdzas*

7 *gtso-mo'i 'bul-gtor*

10 *gsang-sgrub-kyi 'bul-gtor*

15–20 *nang-mchod*



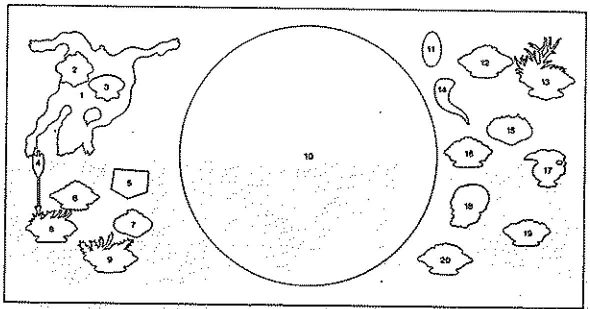


Plate 38

Ritual items and the six kinds of *thun* (Nos. 2, 7, 8, 11, 16, 20). It is stated in the inscription that these ritual items are drawn according to the instructions given by *Zur Chos-dbyings rang-grol*, cf. Plate 35. They are therefore not mentioned in any of the texts written by the Fifth Dalai Lama himself in the manuscript volume.

1 human skin (*g.yang-gzhi*)

2 skull-cup containing pieces of gold

3 skull-cup containing an unidentified liquid

4 arrow

5 ritual receptacle

6 bowl containing an unidentified liquid

7 skull-cup containing blood

8 bowl containing stones and other substances

9 cf. No. 8 above

10 *cakra* to be accompanied by the skull-cup, cf. No. 2 above

11 egg

12 cf. Nos. 6 and 7 above

13 cf. Nos. 8 and 9 above

14 ox horn, cf. Plate 3, No. 17

15 see No. 20 above

16 bowl containing mouse meat

17 jug

18 skull-cup covered with lead, cf. Plate 36, No. 6

19 cf. Nos. 6 and 12 above

20 bowl containing hearts

INSCRIPTIONS

2 *gu-ling nag-po thod-thun*

7 *rakta nag-po khrag-gi thun*

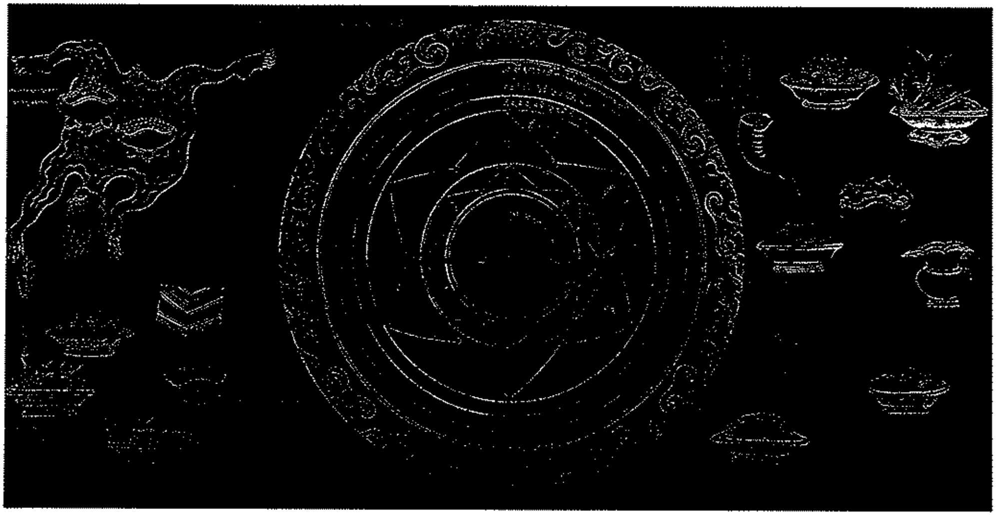
8 *ni-ri nag-po rdo-yi thun*

10 *thod-thun 'khor-lo*

11 *tsan-pa nag-po sgo-nga'i thun*

16 *byi-sha nag-po dug-gi thun*

20 *tsitta nag-po snying-gi thun*



Khams-gsum zil-gnon (Plates 39–41)

Plate 39 A (*opposite*)

1 *cakra* for protecting oneself and others from malignant spirits

2 the top part of the protective *cakra No. 1*

Plate 39 B (*overleaf left*)

3 *cakra* for turning away evil spirits and one's foes

4 the top part of the *cakra* No. 3

Plate 40 (*overleaf right*)

5 *cakra* containing a *liṅga*, a special form of Nos. 3 and 4

6 *cakra* for destroying one's foes

INSCRIPTIONS

1 *srung-'khor*

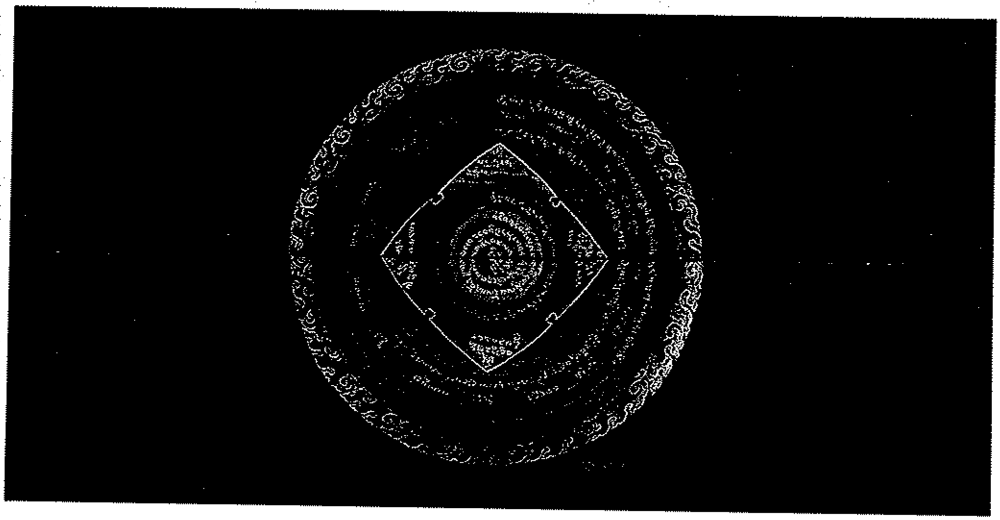
2 *srung-'khor kha-sbyor*

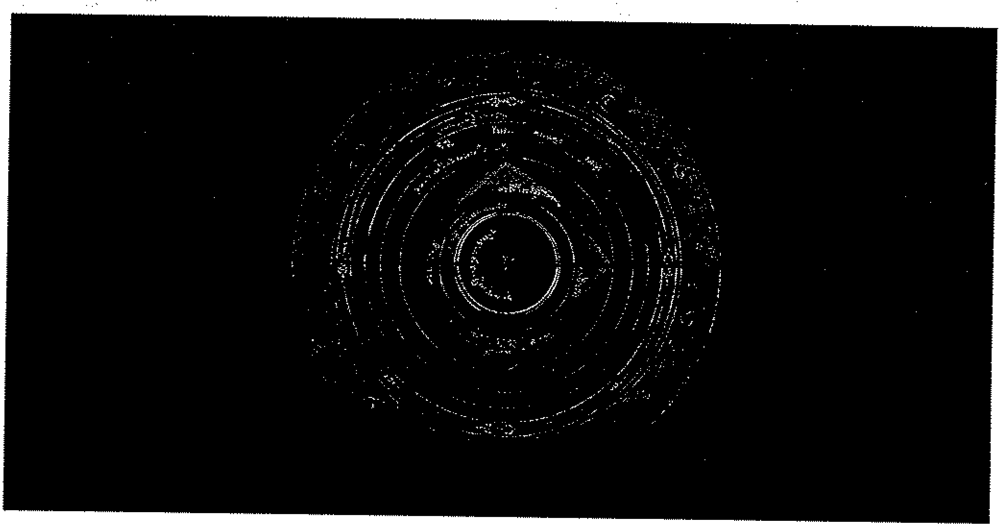
3 *bzlog-'khor*

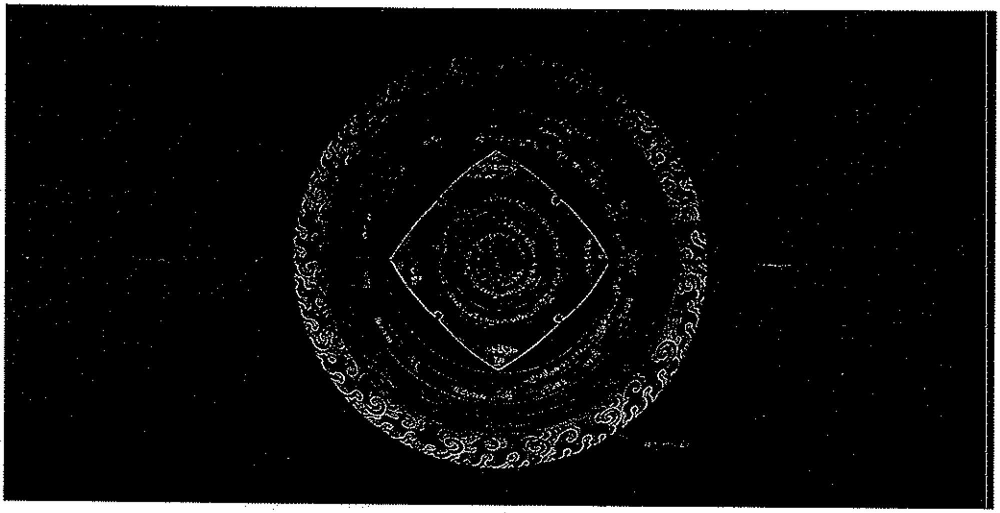
4 *bzlog-'khor kha-sbyor*

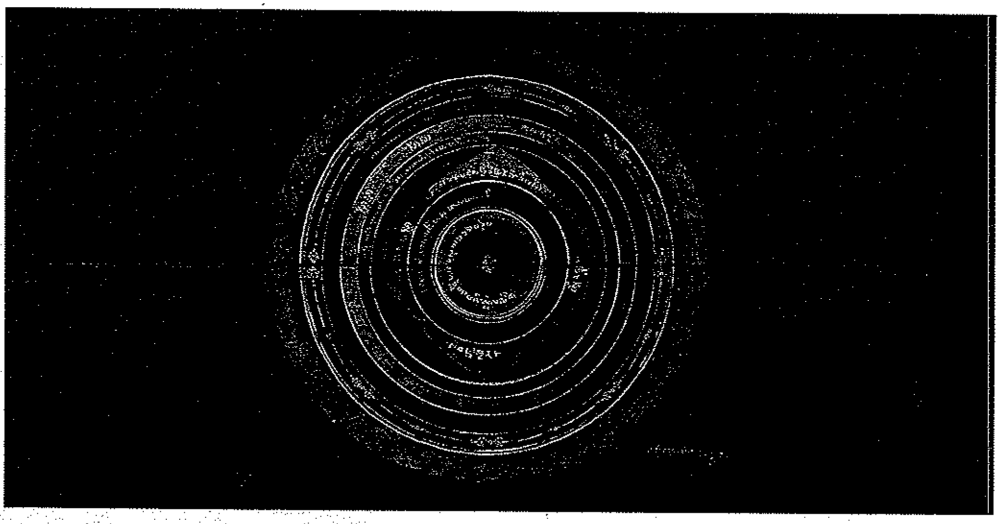
5 *bzlog-pa drag-po*

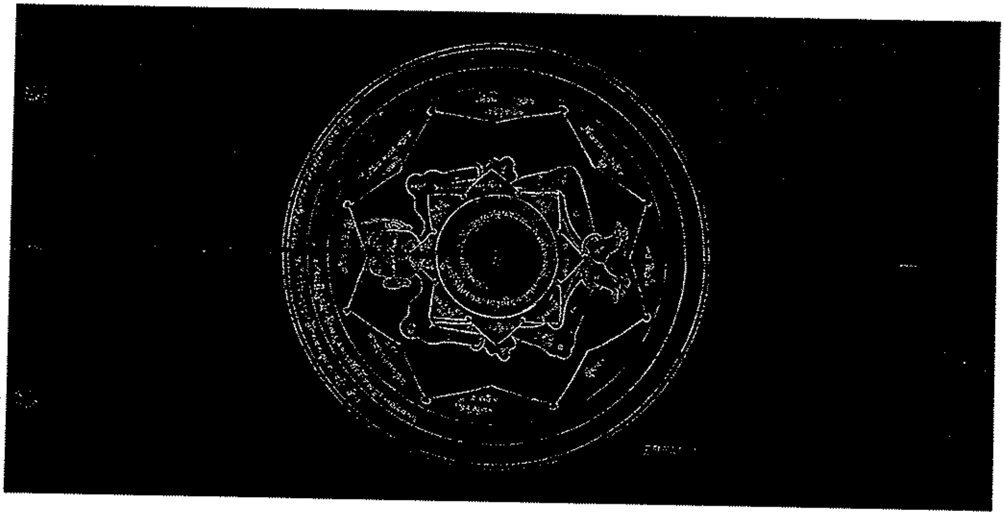
6 *bsad-pa*











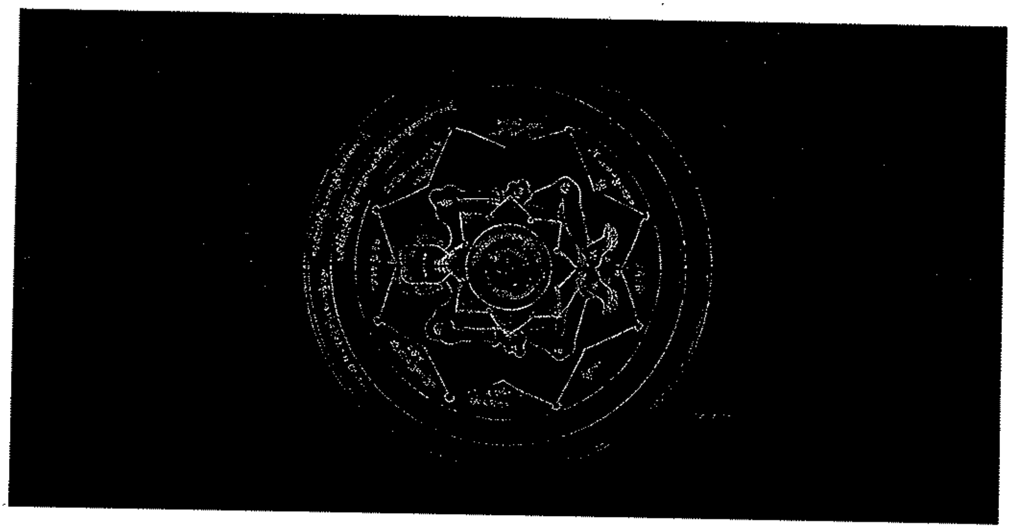
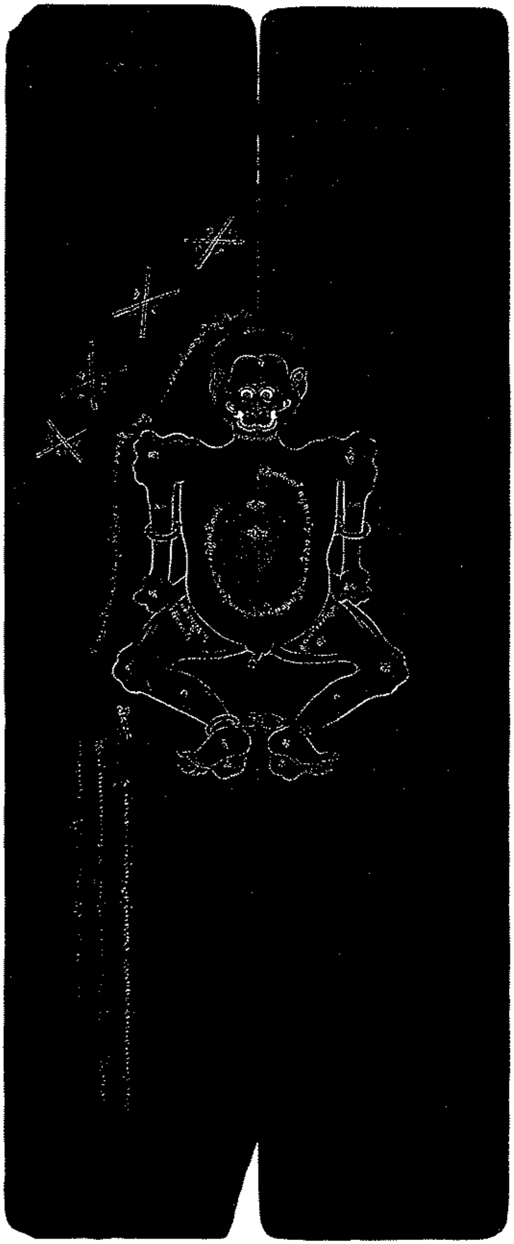


Plate 41
Liṅga for eliminating evil spirits

INSCRIPTION
liṅga mgo-mjug zlog-ste rang-thag('thag) lte-mig lan-bdun sgo-them la lan bdun khyi-sbo la lan-bdun rnal-'byor-pa'i sgyid-khung la lan-bdun /
'Holding the *liṅga* upside down, it (should be drawn) through the navel of a water-mill, under a threshold, a dog's belly and the hollow of the knee of a yogin, seven times in each case.'



Karma drag-po (Plates 42–55)

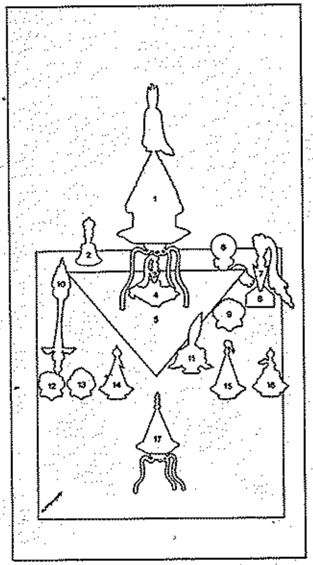
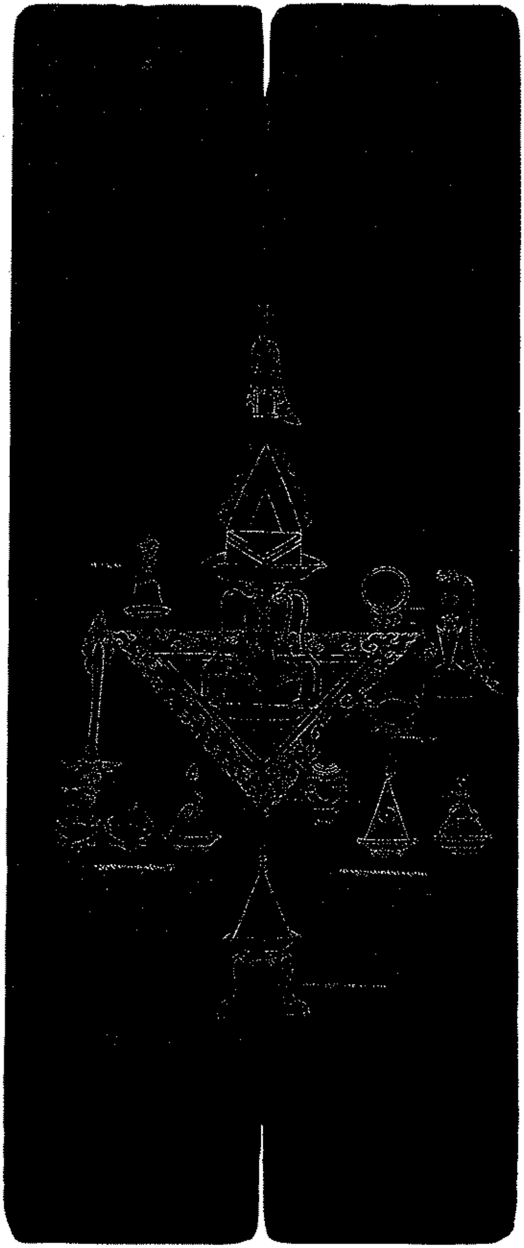


Plate 42

Ritual items needed in the empowerment initiation of the deity *Karma drag-po*. For description of the visionary experience, see p. 51.

1 *torma* representing *Karma drag-po*
2 bell representing the feminine partner in the rite
3 ritual dagger
4 *linga*
5 ritual receptacle
6 mirror
7 see No. 3 above
8 see No. 5 above
9 skull-cup, cf. Plate 1, No. 26
10 ritual sword
11 vase for ablution
12–14 cf. Plate 1, Nos. 27–29
15 *torma* representing the guardians of the *Karmaguru* cycle
16 *torma* representing the *Nāgas*
17 *torma* representing *Śiva*

INSCRIPTIONS
2 *sher-rten*
6 *me-long*
9 *gsang-rdzas*
10 *phyag-mtshan*
11 *rnam-bum*
12–14 *sman-rak gtor-gsum*
15 *gter-srung-gi gtor-ma*
17 *dbang-phyug-gi gtor-ma*



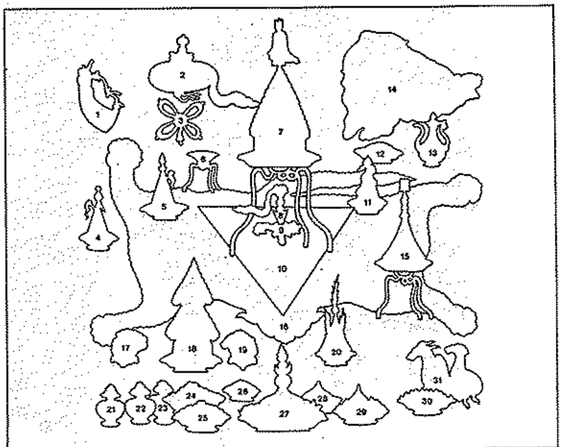


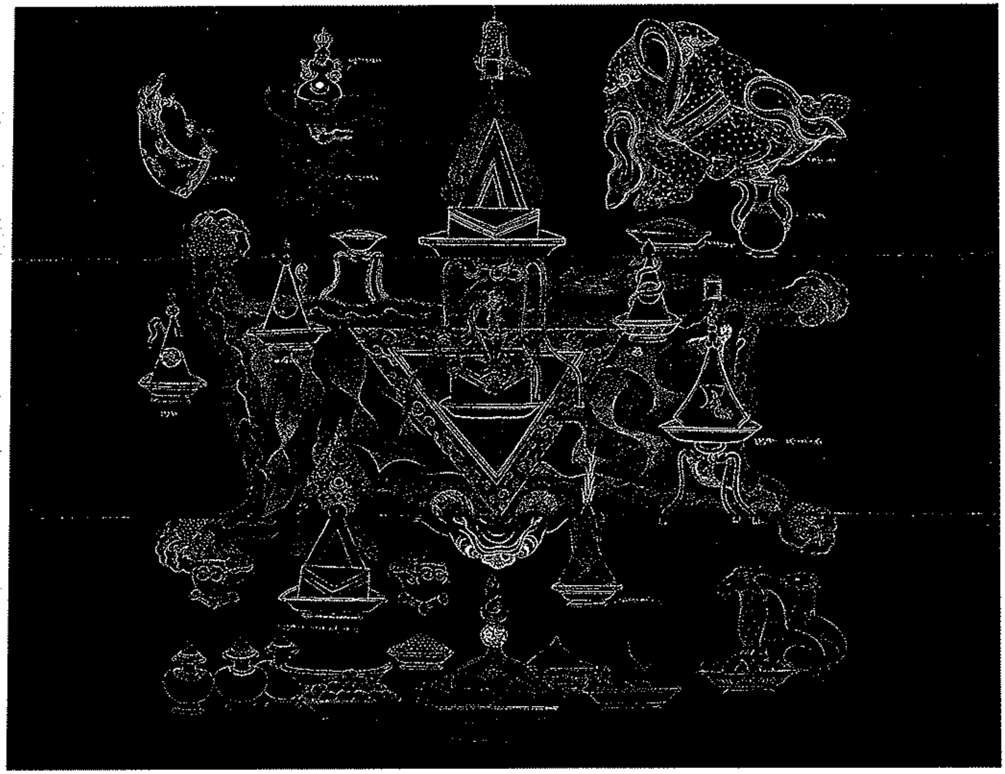
Plate 43

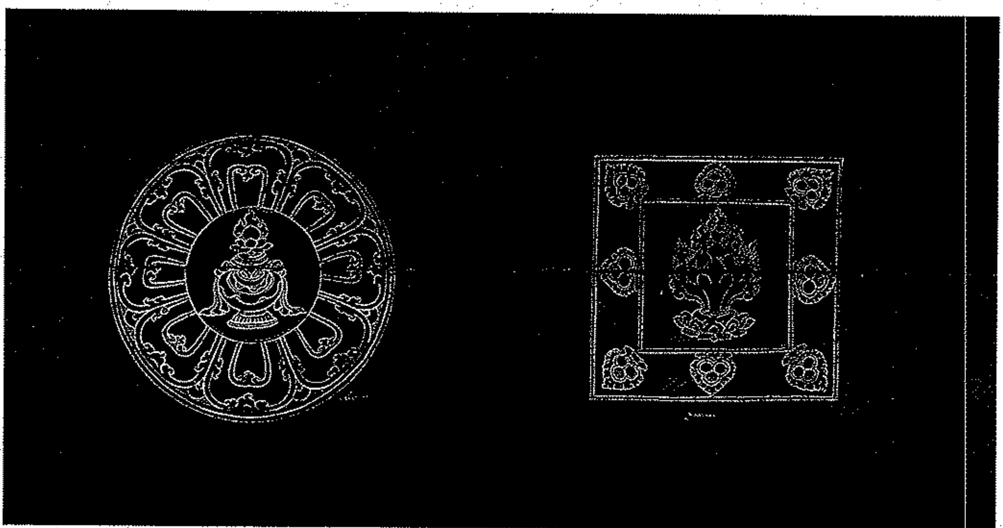
Ritual items used in the rites for turning back the malefic spirits (*gtor-zlog*) and the ritual act of hurling (*zor-las*) in the *Karma-guru* cycle.

1 horn, cf. Plate 3, No. 17
2 the black hat used in the ritual dance
3 bone necklet
4 *torma* for the *bDud*
5 *torma* for the *bTsan*
6 cup filled with tea
7 *torma* representing the deity *Karma drag-po*
8 ritual dagger
9 *linga*
10 ritual receptacle
11 *torma* for the *Nāgas*
12 bowl containing barley
13 tea-pot
14 tantric cloak
15 *torma* for *Śiva* used as a hurled offering (*zor*)
16 leopard or tiger skin
17–19 cf. Plate 1, Nos. 27–29
20 *torma* used as a *thun*
21 vase filled with water
22 vase filled with milk
23 vase filled with ale
24 cake
25 fruits
26 grains
27–29 various cakes
30 cf. No. 25 above
31 carcasses of sheep

INSCRIPTIONS

1 *thun-ru*
2 *zhva-nag*
3 *rus-rgyan*, 'bone ornaments'
4 *bdud*
11 *klu*
12 *nas-phud*
13 *ja-rag*
14 *phod-ka*
15 *dbang-phyug zor-gtor*
17–19 *sman-rak gtor-gsum*
20 *thun-gtor*
21–31 *tshogs-'khor*





The fire-pit of the *homa* rite according to the *Karmaguru* cycle, cf. *H* 172–73.

Plate 44 A

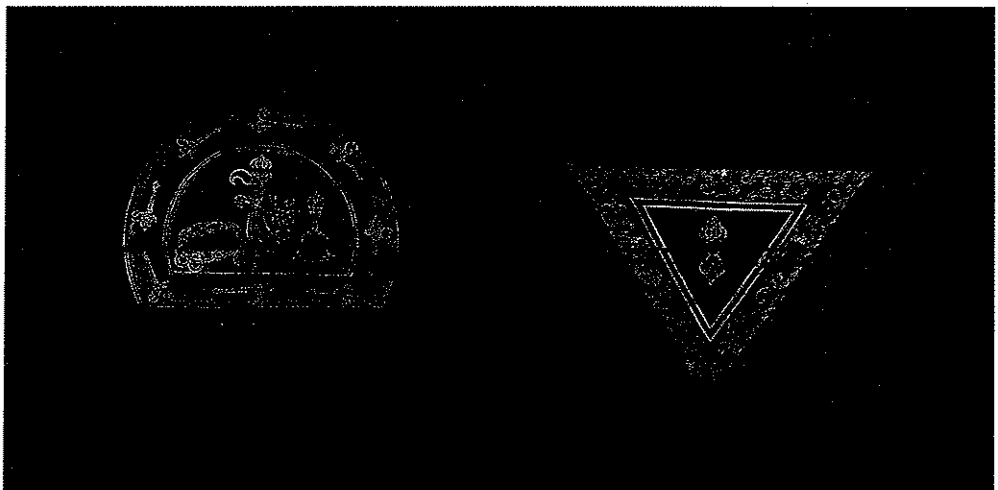
1 fire-pit of the *homa* rite for tranquillity
2 fire-pit of the *homa* rite for prosperity

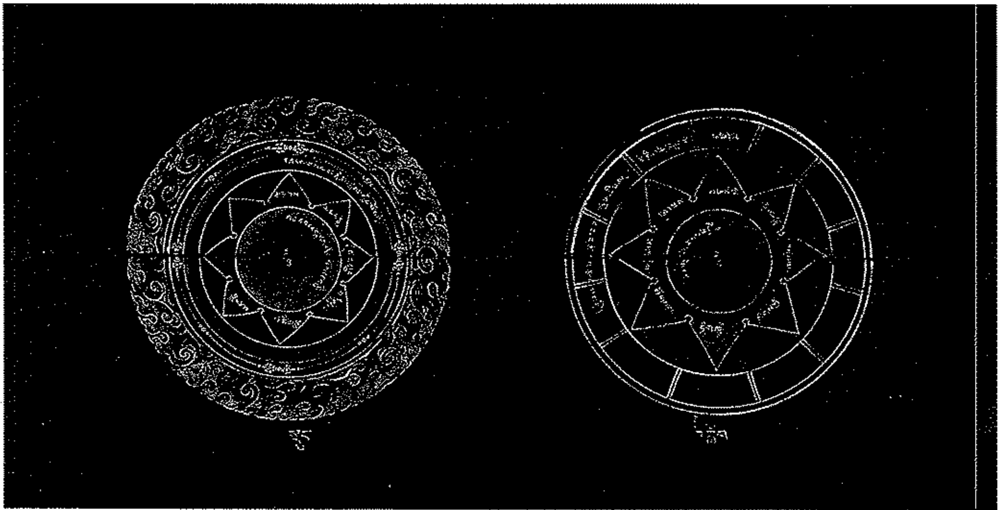
Plate 44 B (*opposite*)

3 fire-pit of the *homa* rite for subjugation
4 fire-pit of the *homa* rite for violent action

INSCRIPTIONS

1 *zhi-ba*
2 *rgyas-pa*
3 *dbang*
4 *drag-po*





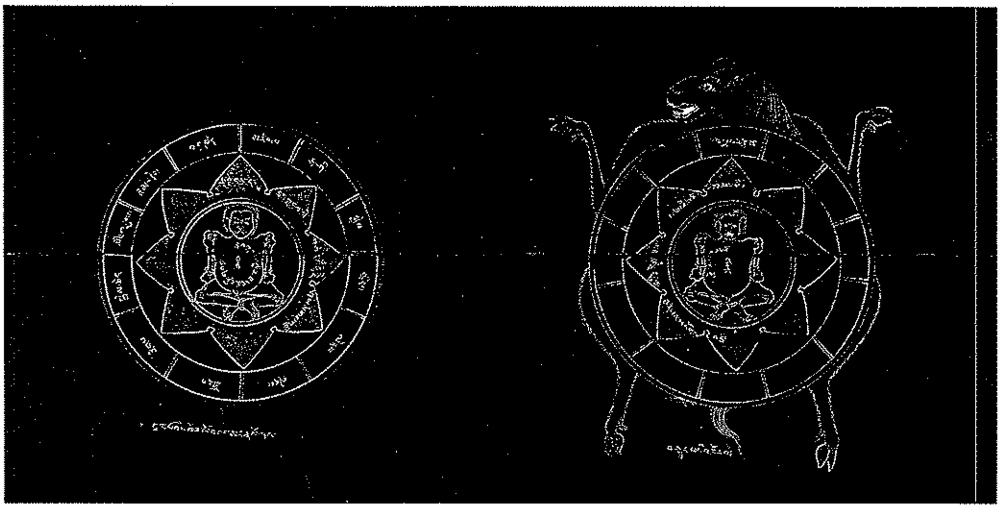


Plate 45

1 *cakra* for protecting oneself from malefic spirits

2 *cakra* for warding off malefic spirits

3 *cakra* for slaying and quelling malefic spirits

4 *cakra* for exorcizing malefic spirits

INSCRIPTIONS

1 *srung*

2 *bzlog*

3 *drag-po'i 'khor-lo bsad-mnan sogs*

4 *bskrad-pa'i 'khor-lo*

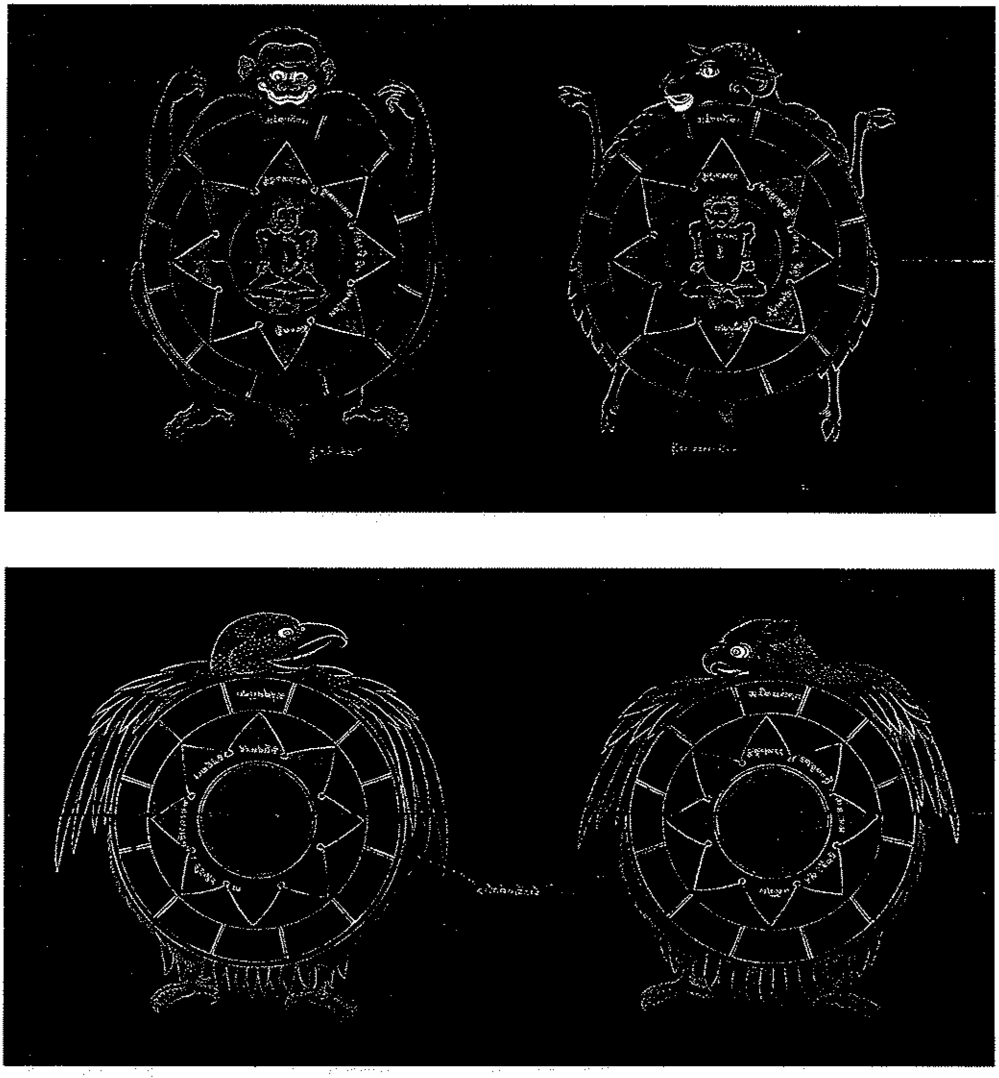


Plate 46

1 *cakra* with a monkey's body. It causes one to become unconscious

2 *cakra* with sheep's body. It causes one to become unconscious

3 *cakra* with a hawk's body

4 *cakra* with an owl's body (these last two *cakras* are used in order to cause the deities to abandon the persons to whom they give protection)

INSCRIPTIONS

1 *smyo-ba'i 'khor-lo*

2 *rmongs-rengs 'khor-lo*

3–4 *dbye-ba'i 'khor-lo*

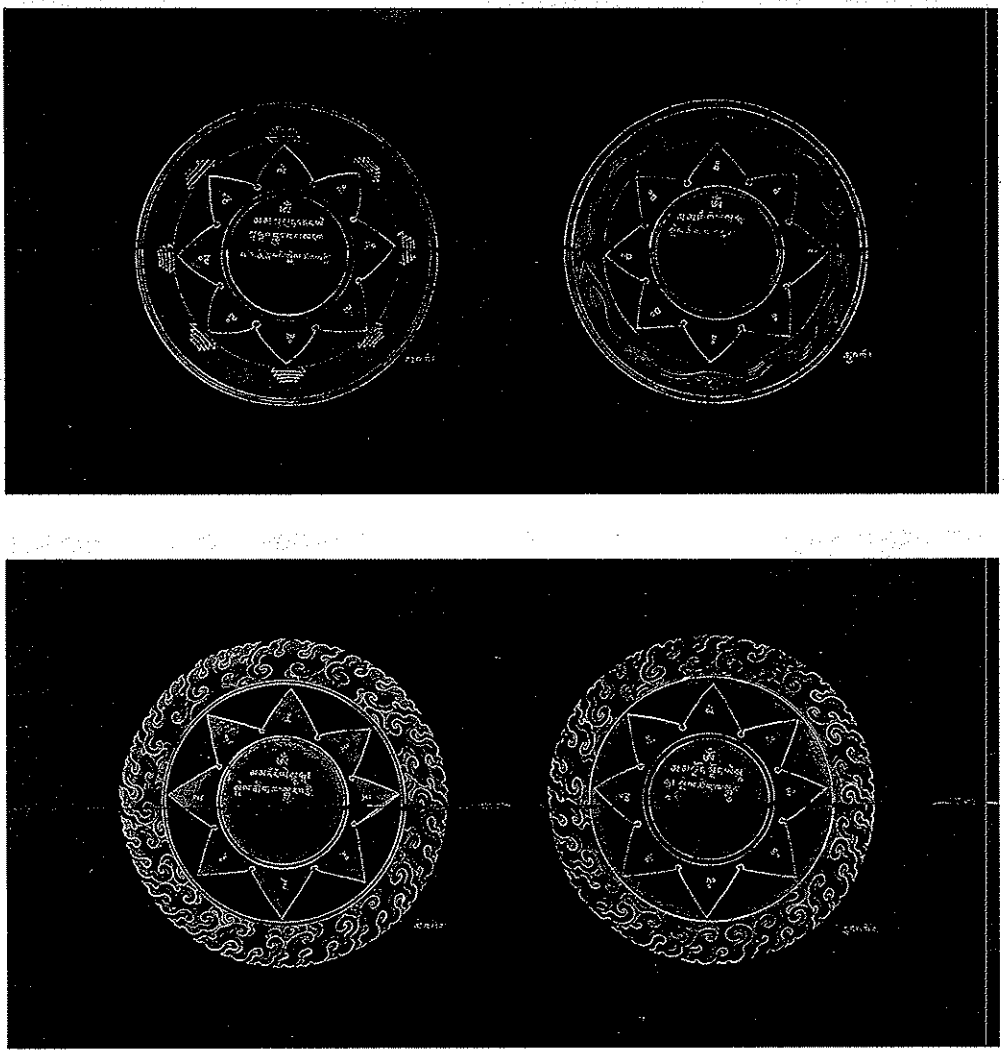


Plate 47

1 *cakra* in place of earth
2 *cakra* in place of water
3 *cakra* in place of fire
4 *cakra* in place of wind (these four *cakras* are used for wrapping the *liṅga*, of which examples are given in Plates 48–50)

INSCRIPTIONS
1 *sa-'khor*
2 *chu-'khor*
3 *me-'khor*
4 *rlung-'khor*

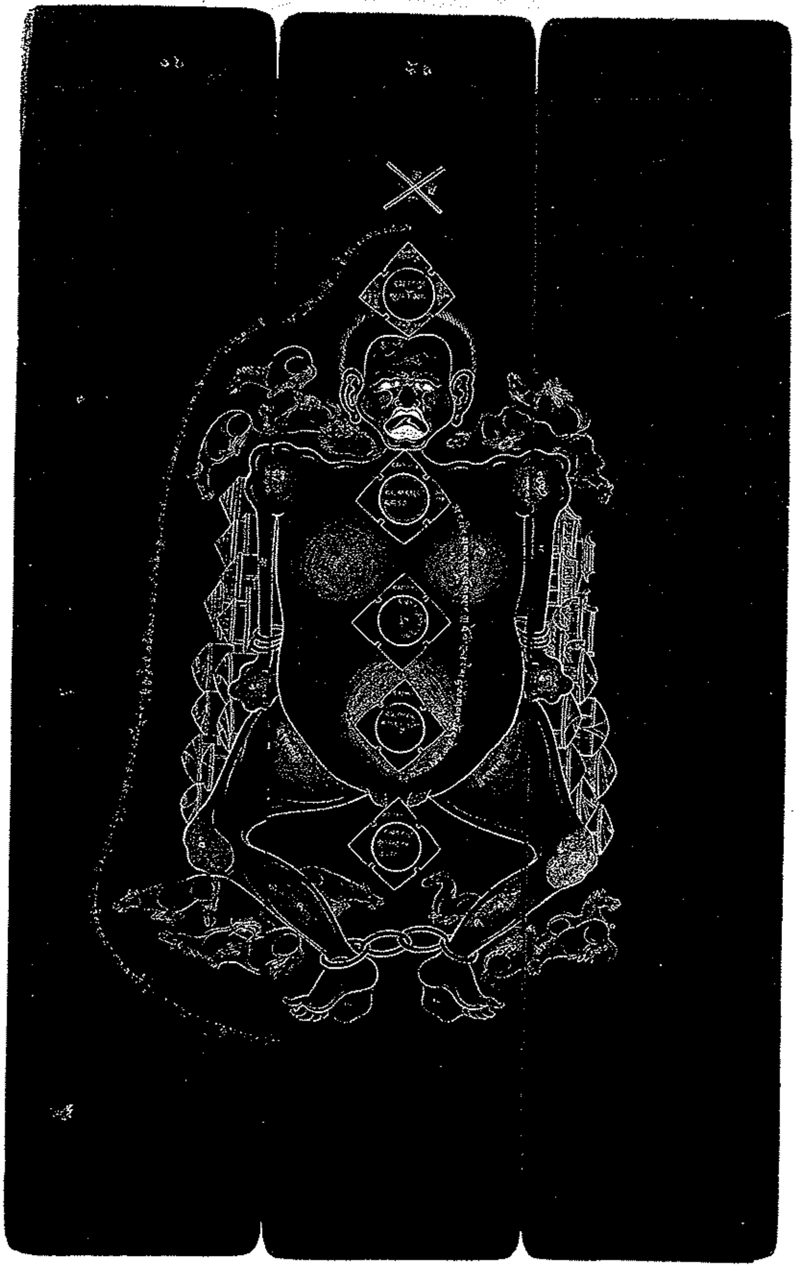


Plate 48

Liṅga with its hands and feet chained; a wheel on the head, chest, navel and crutch. Around the *liṅga*, there are horses and camels with their legs hobbled, and Chinese houses and Mongolian yurts. The long inscription contains the *mantra* to be inscribed around the *liṅga*. This *liṅga* is for turning away invaders from the borderlands (*mtha'i dmag-dpung*), cf. *H* 174.

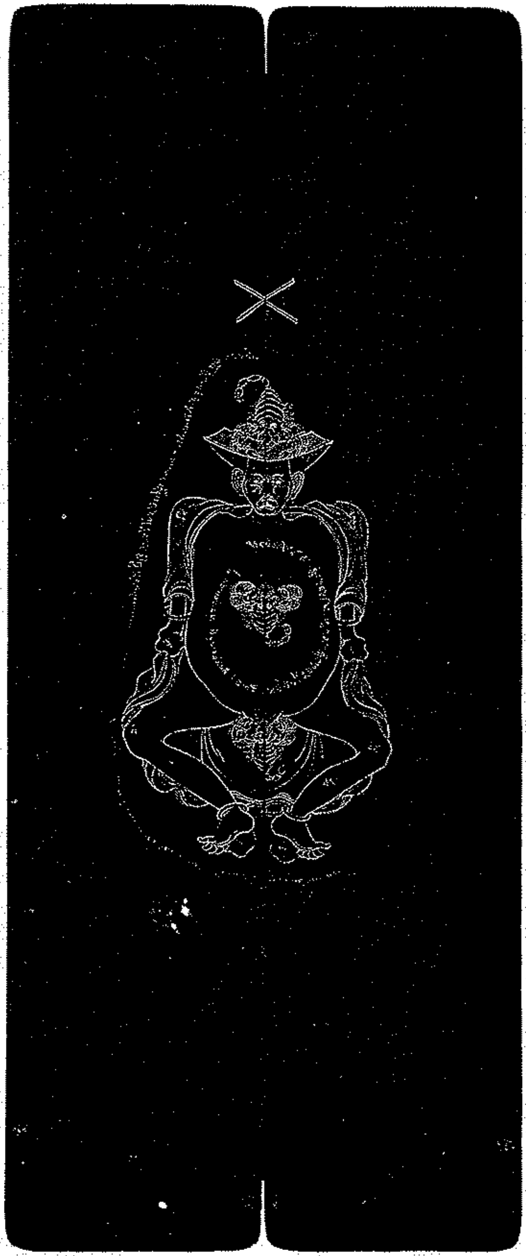


Plate 49

Liṅga with hands and feet chained; three scorpions eating from the head, chest and crutch. The long inscription contains instructions on how to inscribe the *mantra* in the *liṅga*. This *liṅga* is for subduing the *dam-sri* spirits, cf. *H* 175.

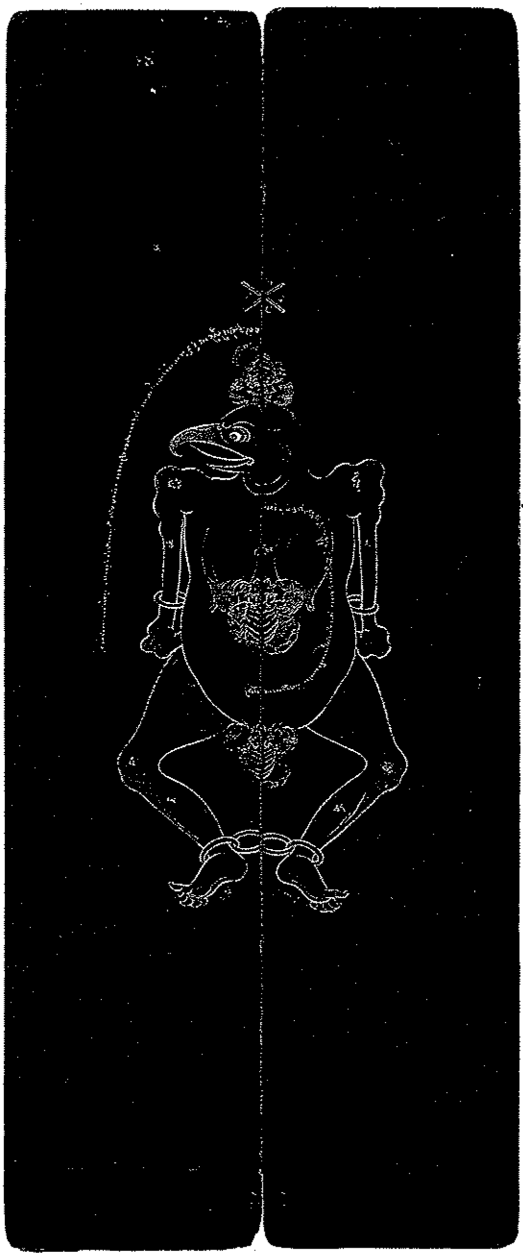


Plate 50
Liṅga with a bird's head and with the arms and ankles chained. Three scorpions eating from the head, chest and penis. The inscription contains instructions on which *mantras* are to be inscribed in the *liṅga* and how. This *liṅga* is for subduing the *bsen-mo*, a malignant female spirit.

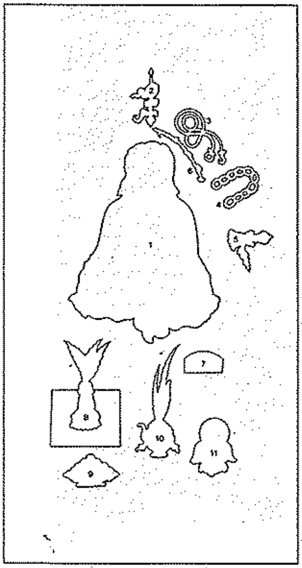


Plate 51

1 *linga* representing the victim

2 hook with the syllable *DZA*

3 lasso with the syllable *HŪM*

4 chain with the syllable *BAM*

5 bell with the syllable *HO*

6 instructions on how to inscribe *mantras* in the *linga*

7 receptacle for keeping in the *linga*

8 human penis representing *Śiva*, used in the rite for dealing with evil omens that occur, cf. *H* 175–76

9 bowl containing some unidentified substance used for protective purposes in the rite mentioned above, No. 8

10 vase used for pacifying the spirits that cause illnesses (*H* 176)

11 mirror placed on the top of a skull-cup. They are used in the ritual of longevity, cf. *H* 176

INSCRIPTIONS

1 *'gugs-pa'i linga*, '*linga* for summoning'

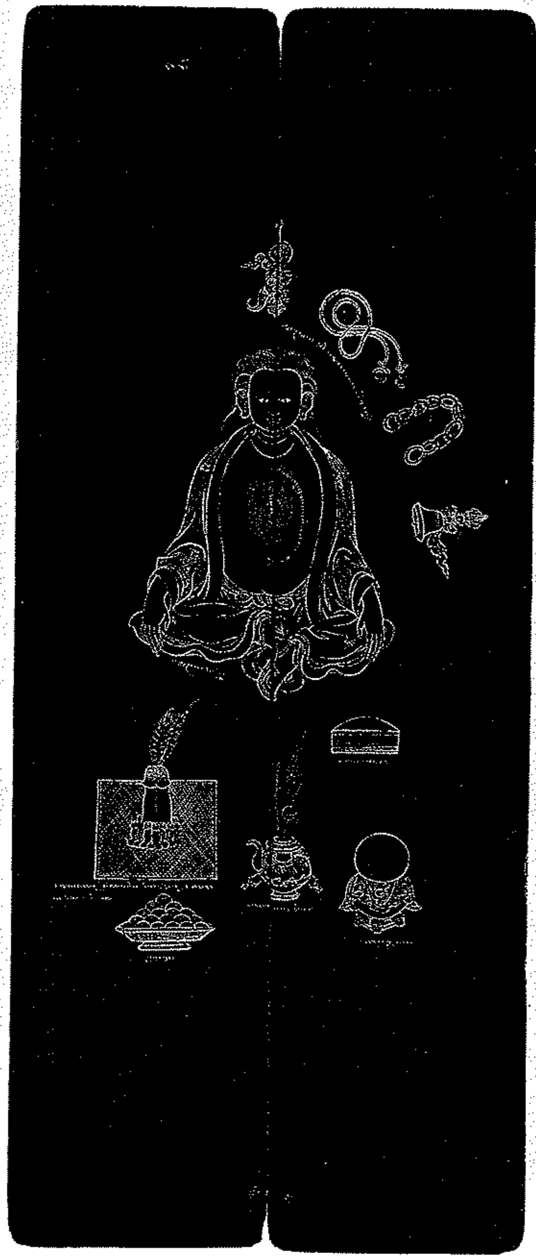
7 *bse'i ga'u*, 'receptacle made of rhinoceros's skin'

8 *ltas-ngan bzlog-pa*, 'turning back the omens'

9 *rdzas-srung*

10 *nad-gdon zhi-ba*, 'pacification of the *gdon* spirits who cause illnesses'

11 *tshe-bsgrub-pa*



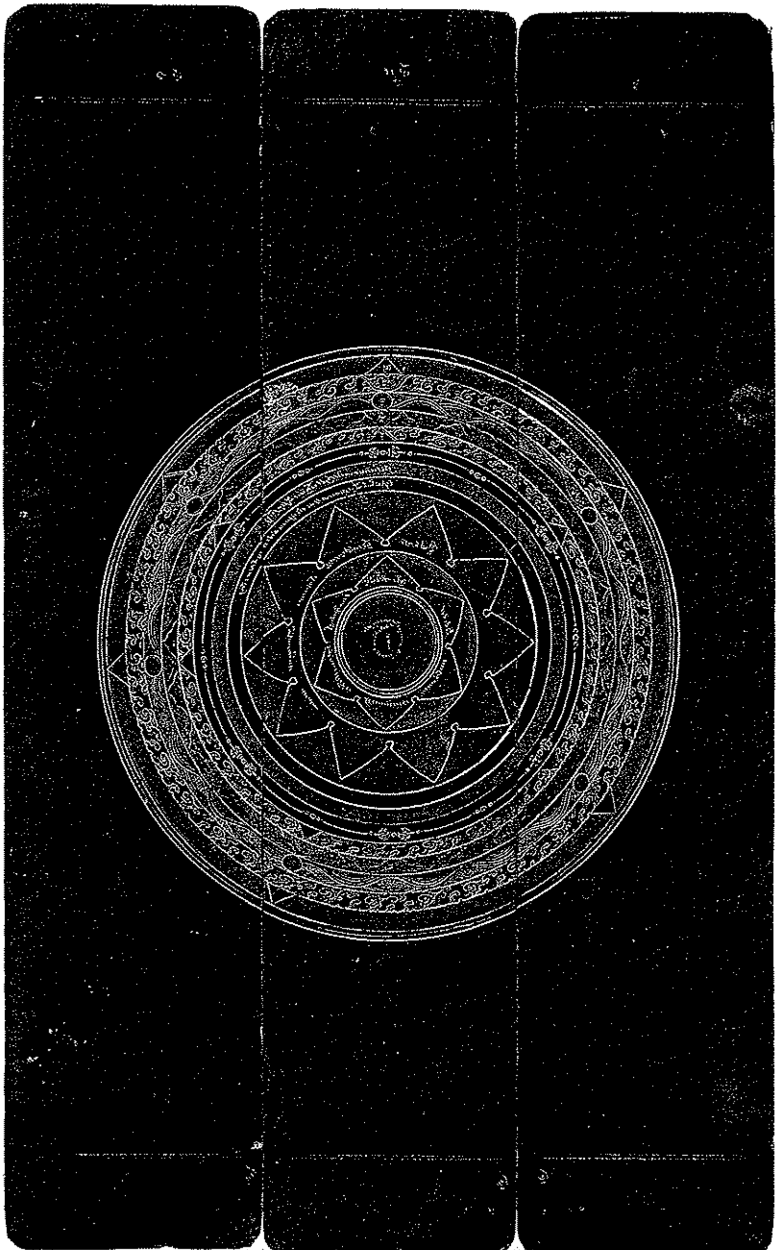


Plate 52
A protective cakra with *mantras* of the deity *Karma drag-po* inscribed in the *cakra*. This *cakra* is believed to have the power of protecting the person who possesses it from the influence of the *dam-sri* spirits, cf. *H* 314–15.

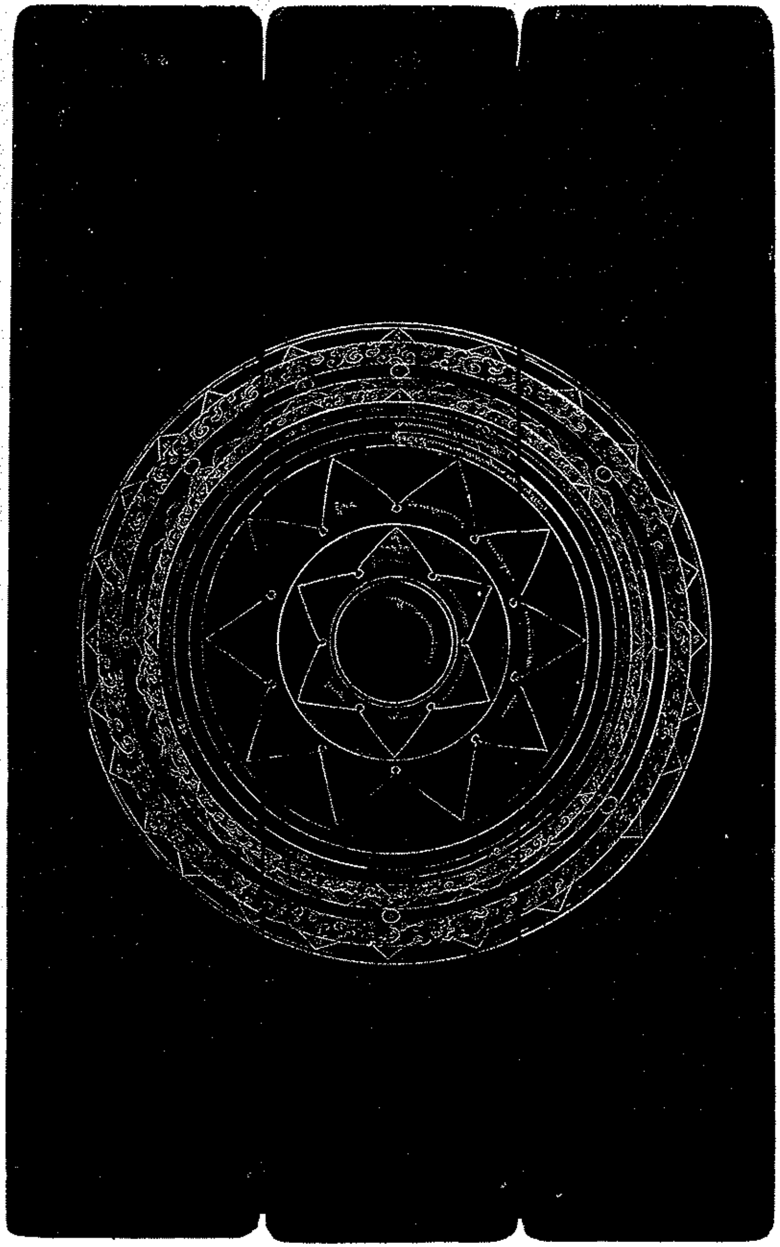


Plate 53
Cakra for turning away (*bzlog-'khor*) harmful spirits. It contains *mantras* of the deity *Karma drag-po* among other *mantras*, cf. *H* 314–15.

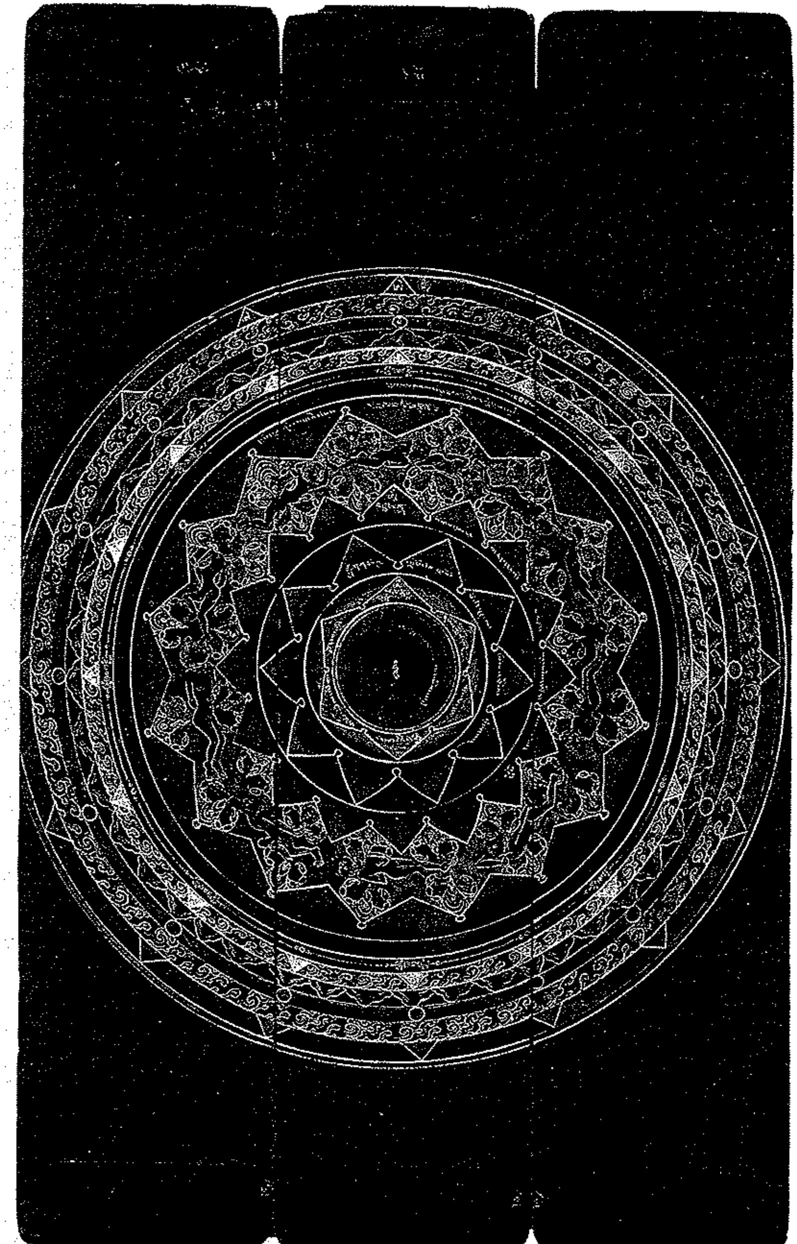
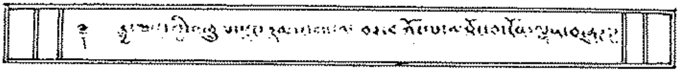
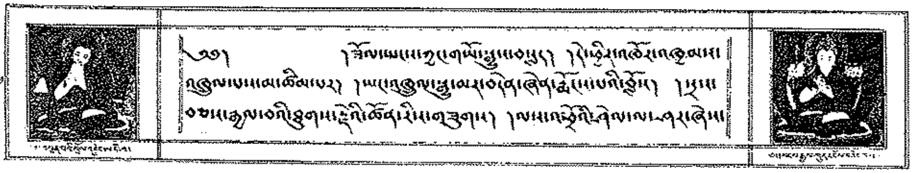


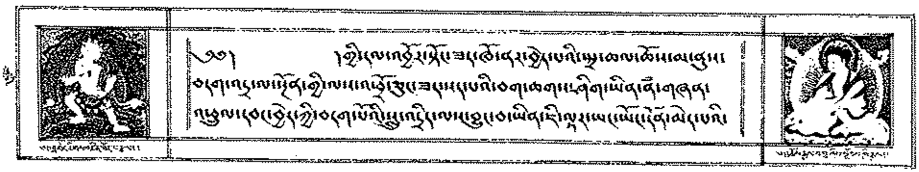
Plate 54
Cakra for dealing with various harmful spirits. This *cakra* is drawn in such a way that it can be used for the purpose of subduing any evil spirits, cf. *H* 314–15.

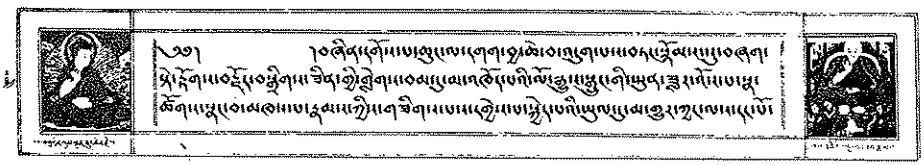
THE TIBETAN TEXTS

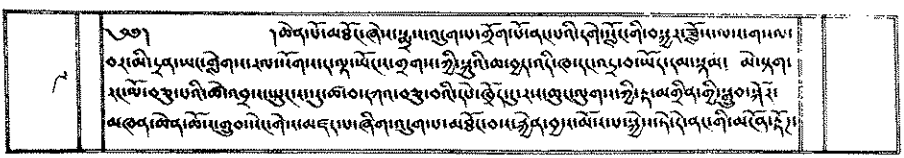
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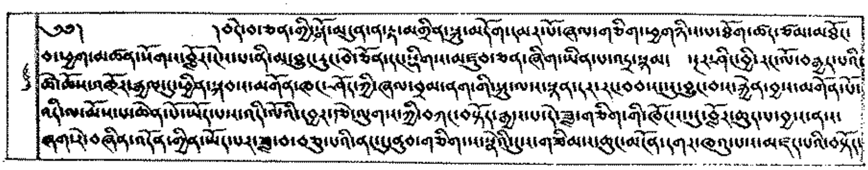




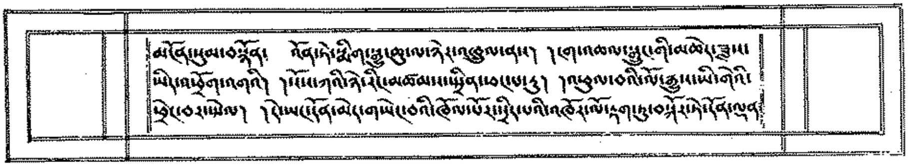


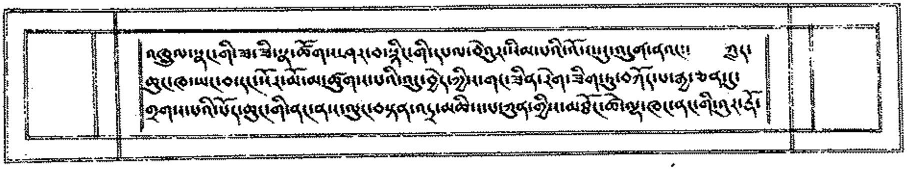


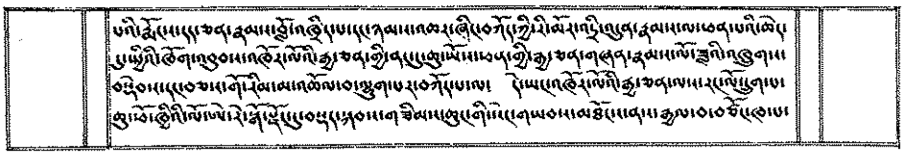


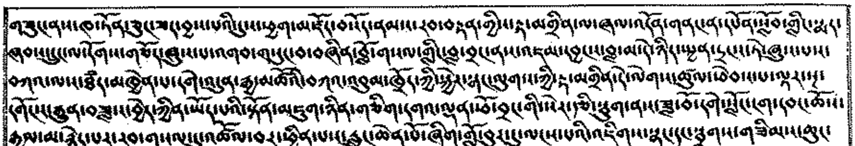


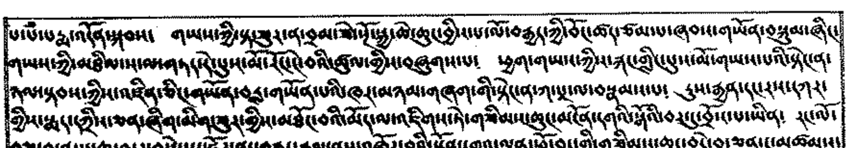


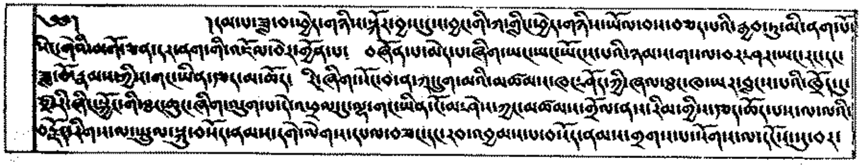


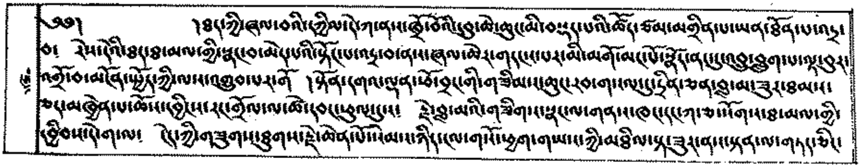


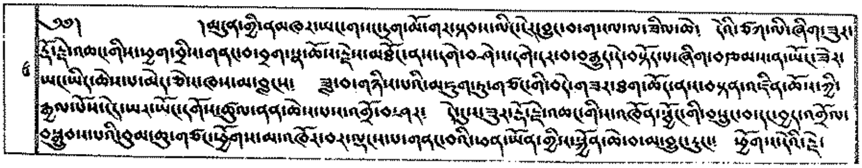


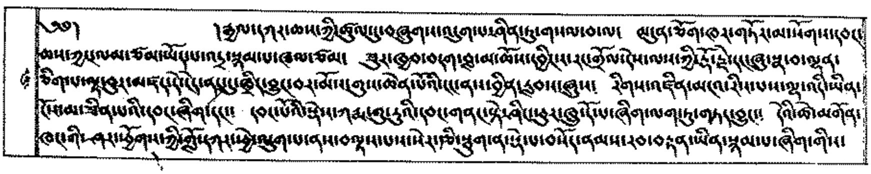


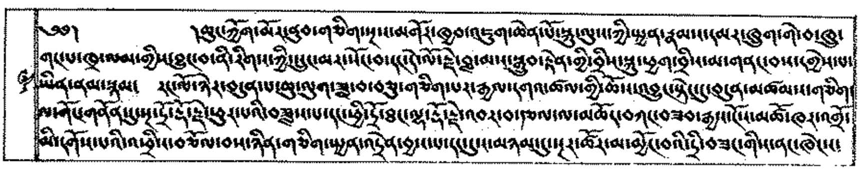


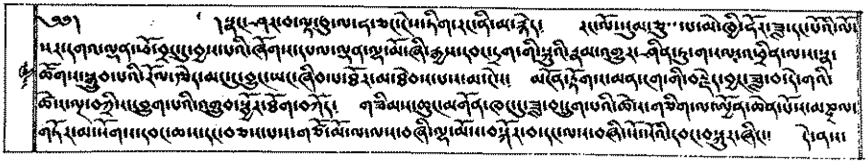


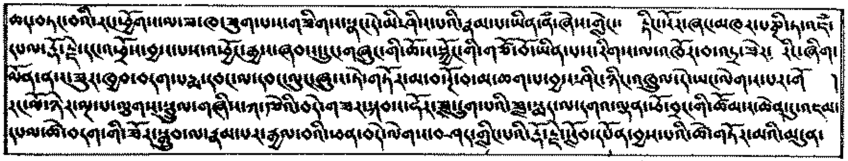


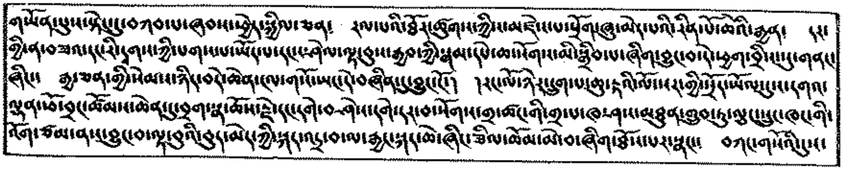


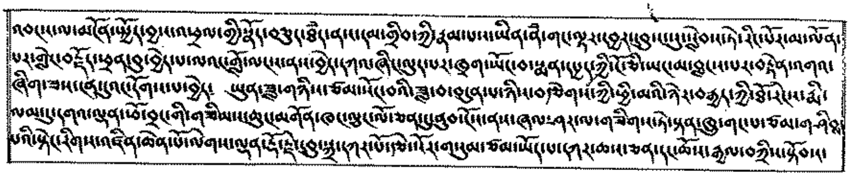


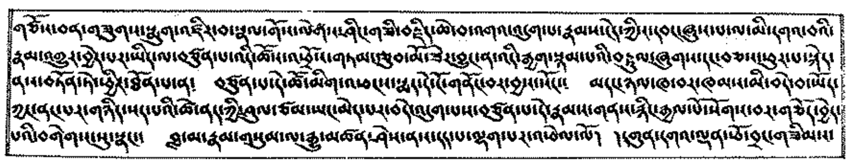


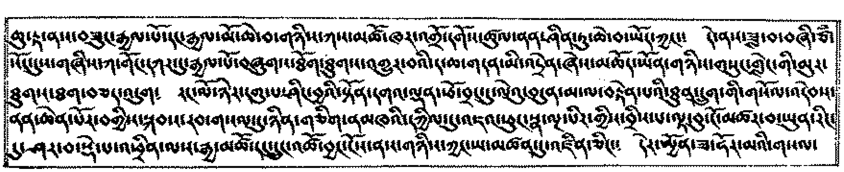


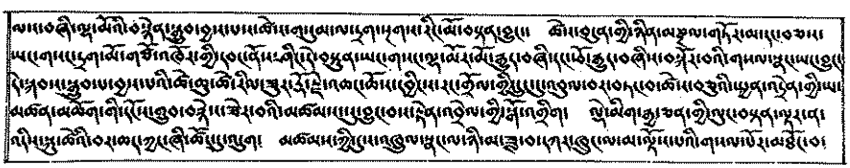


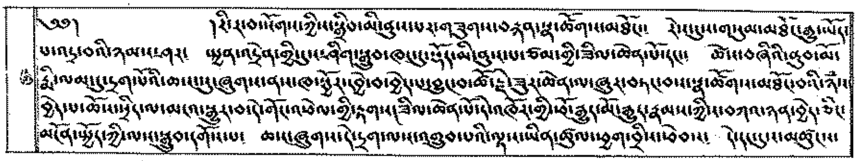


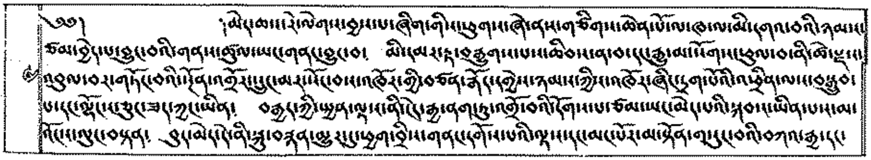


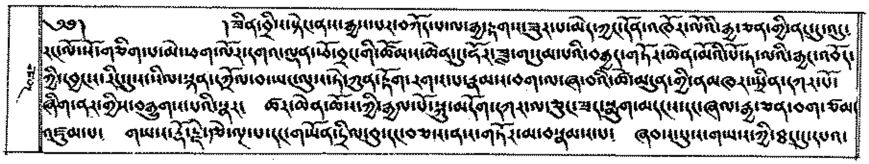


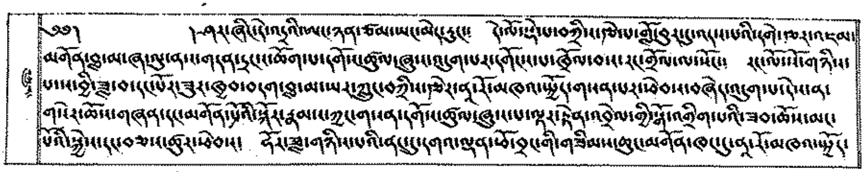


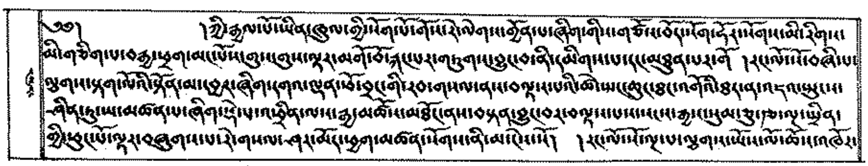


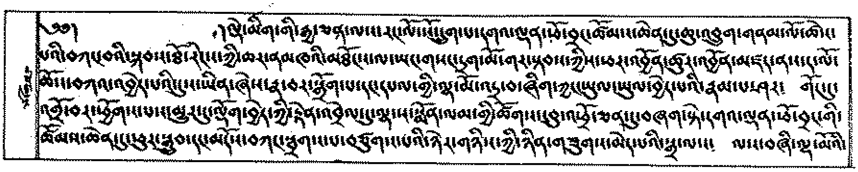


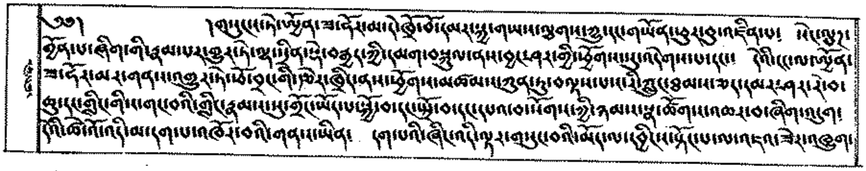


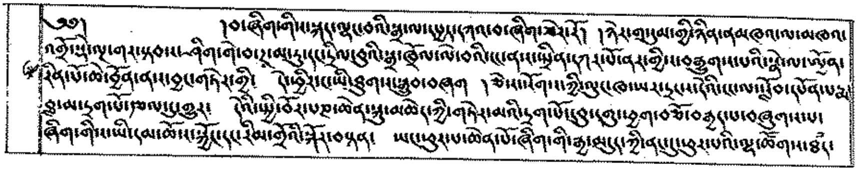


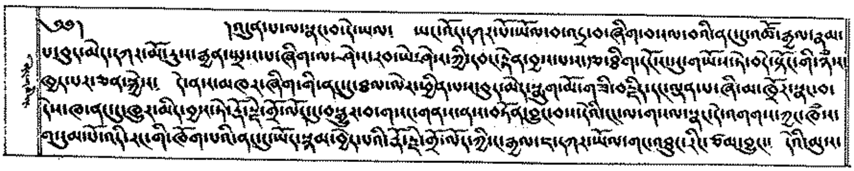


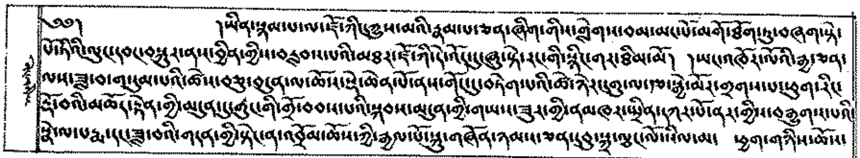


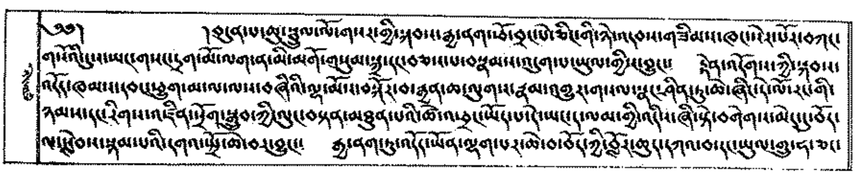


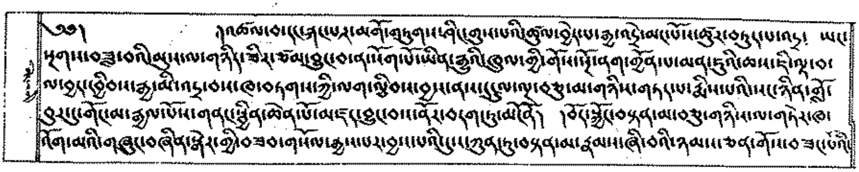


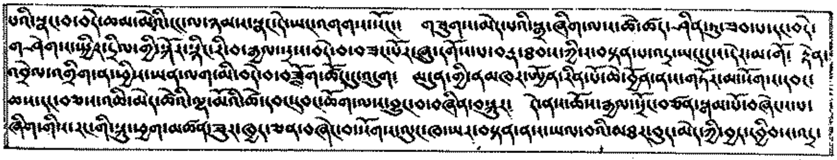


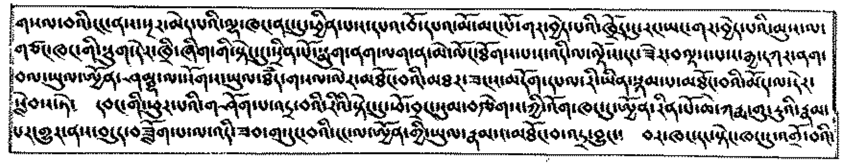


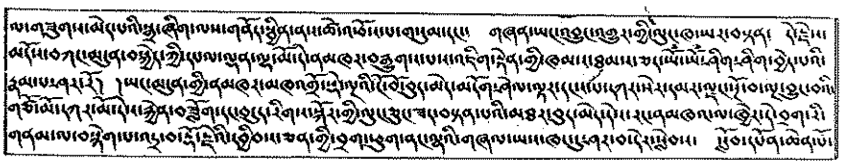


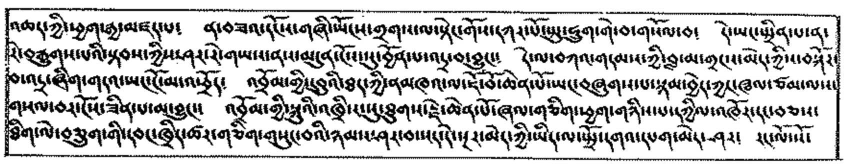


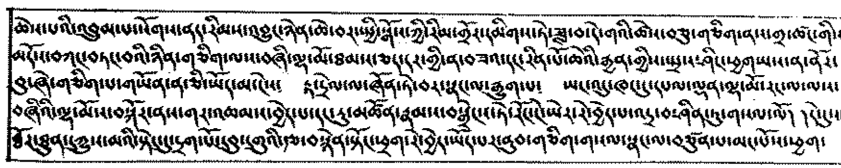


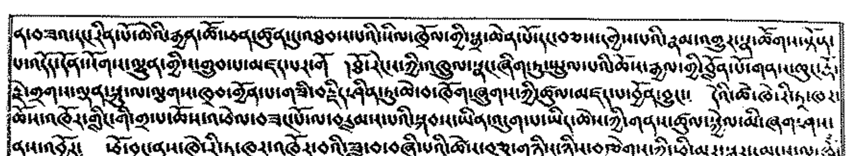


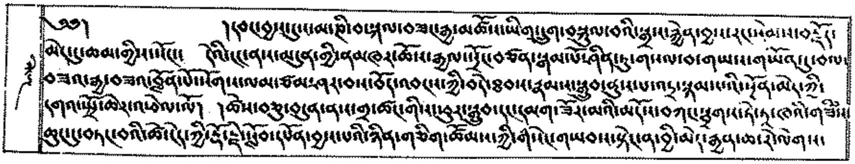


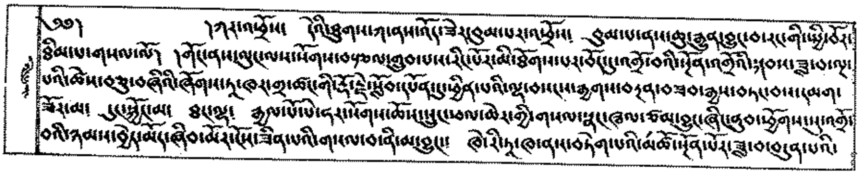


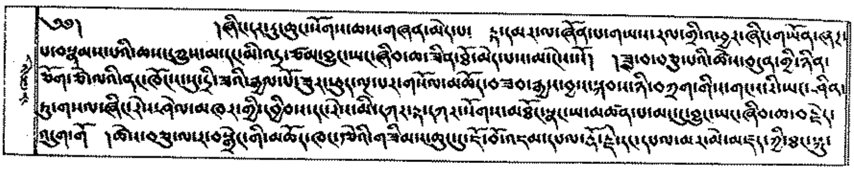


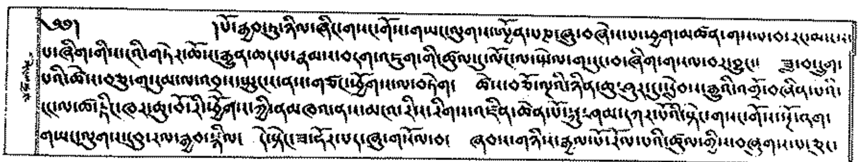


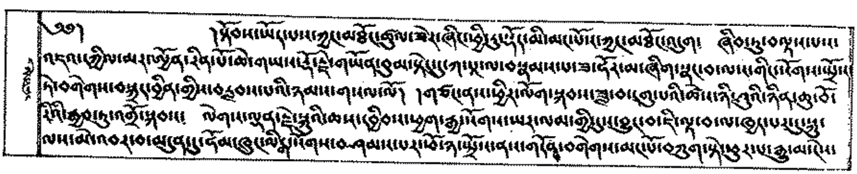


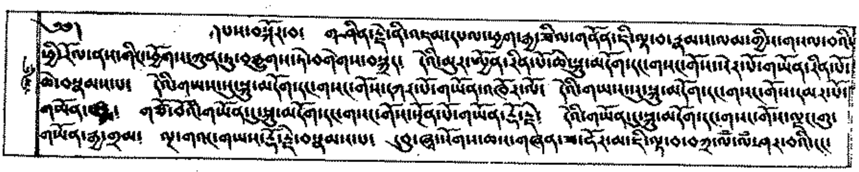


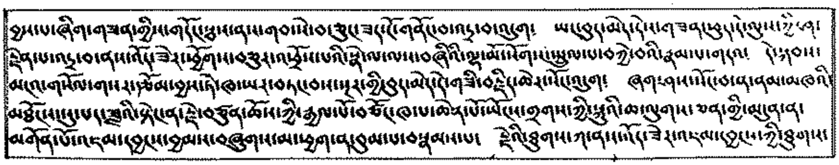


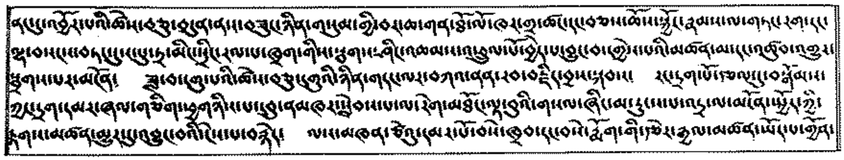


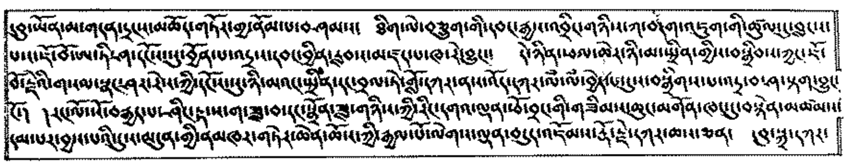


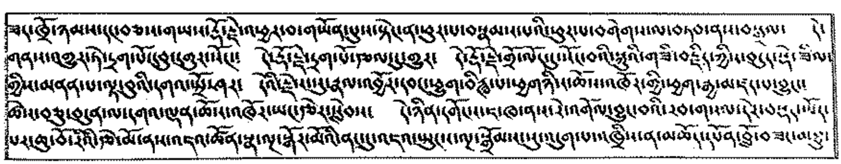


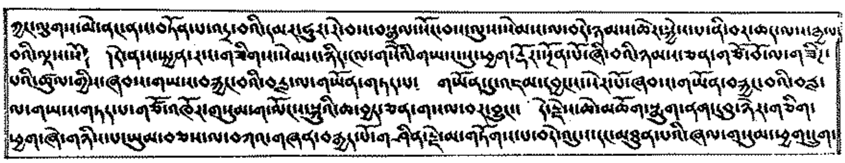


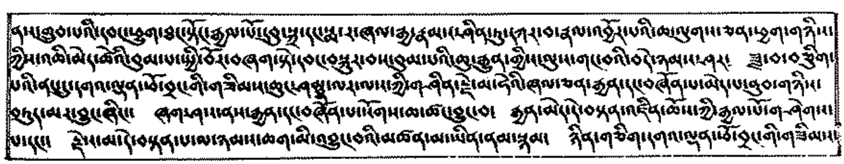


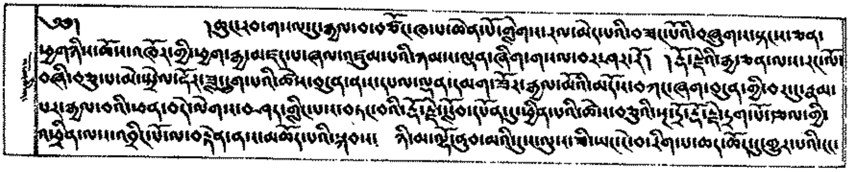


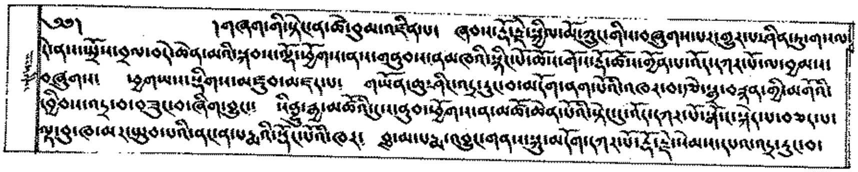


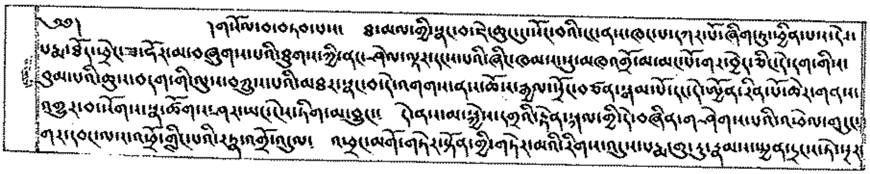


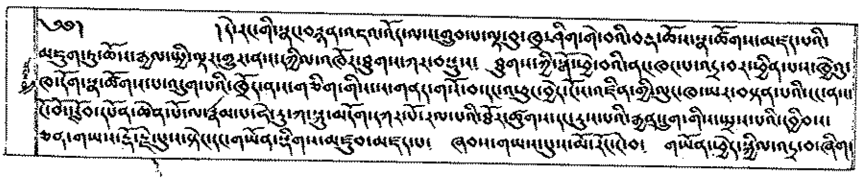


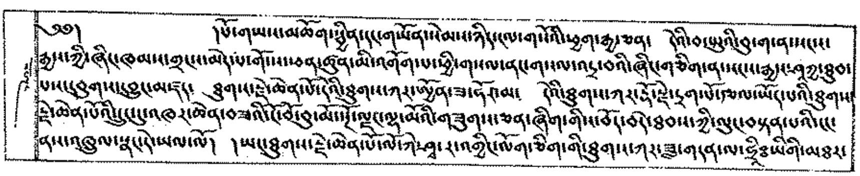


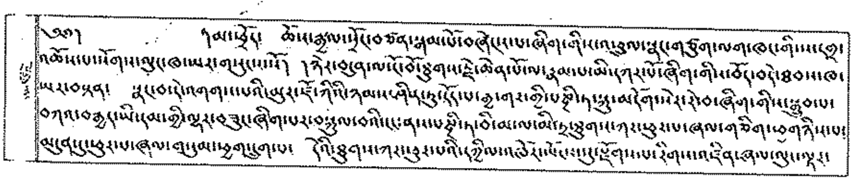


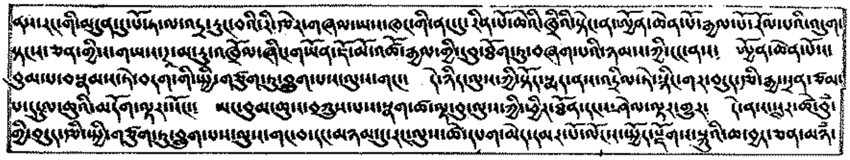


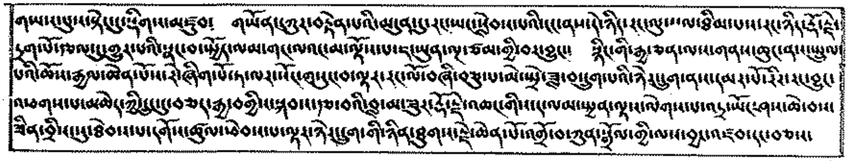


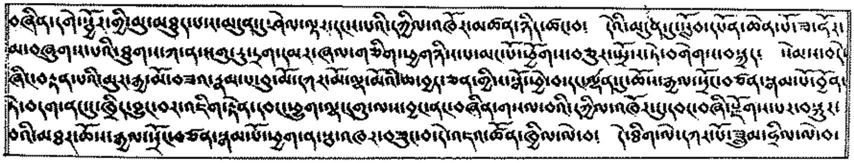


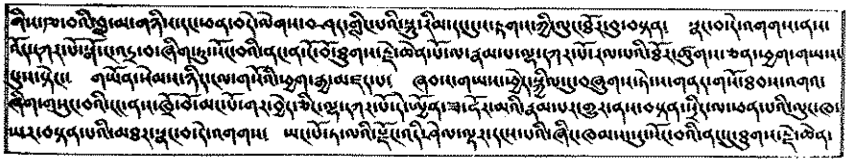


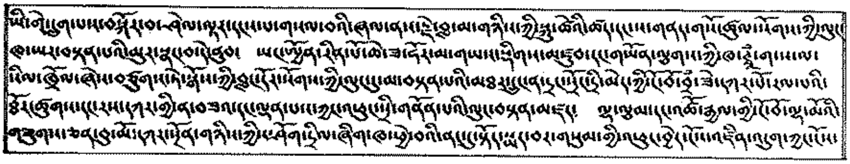


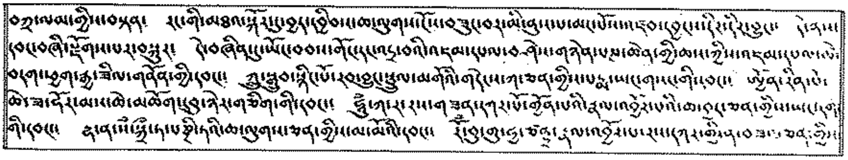


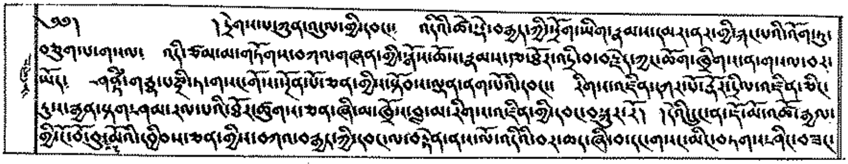


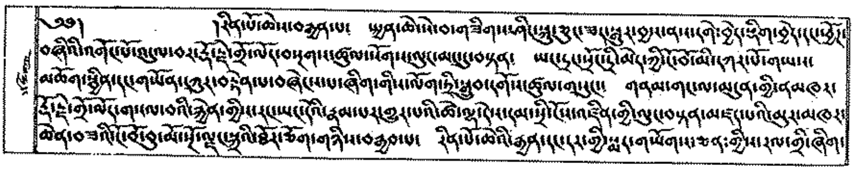


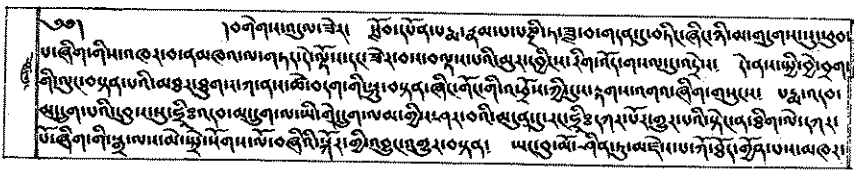


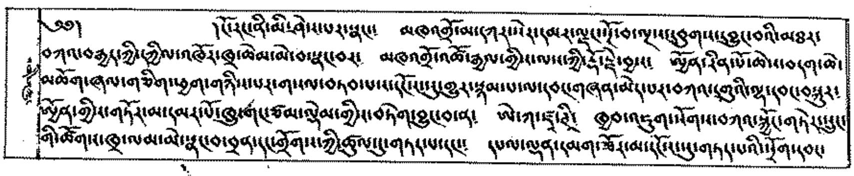


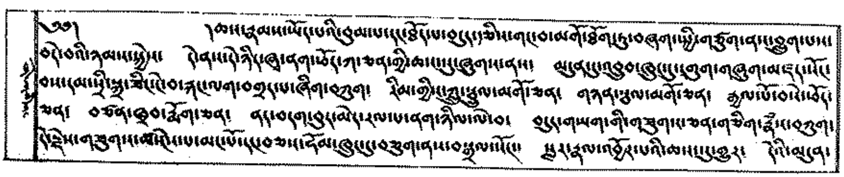


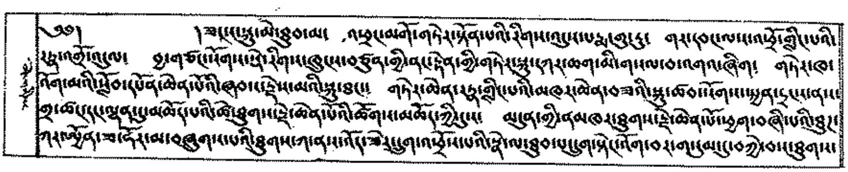


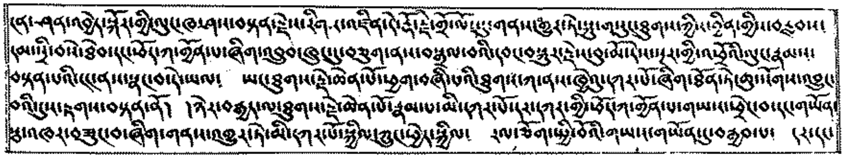


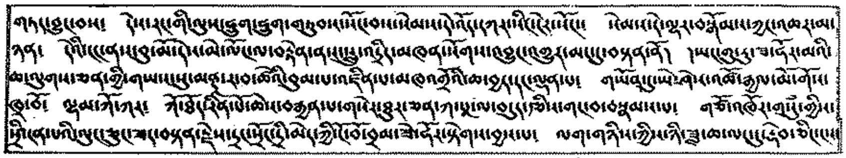


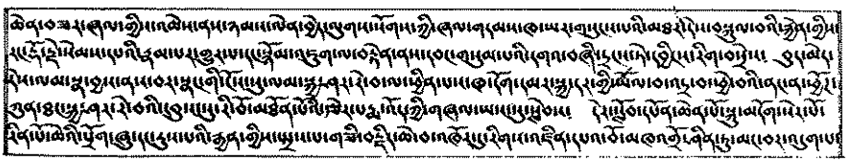


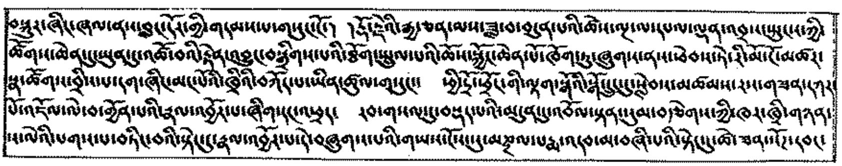


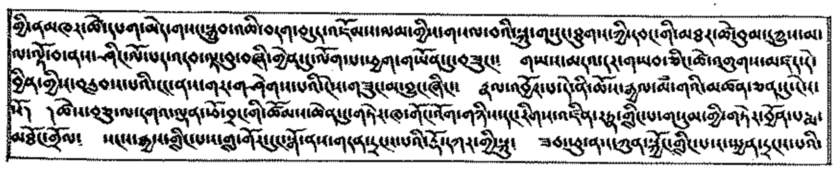


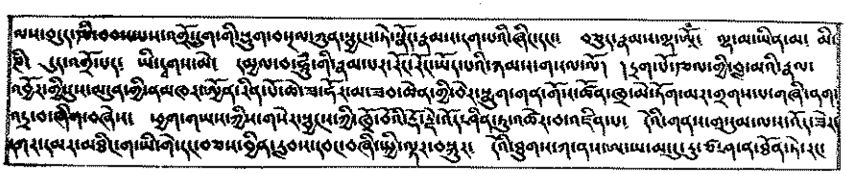


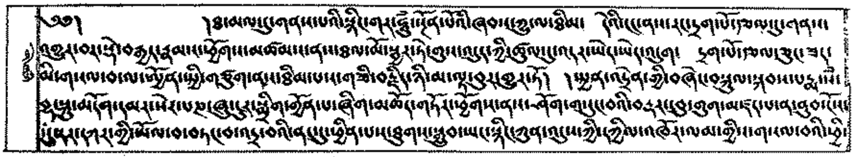


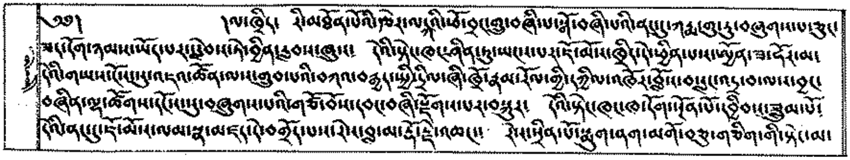


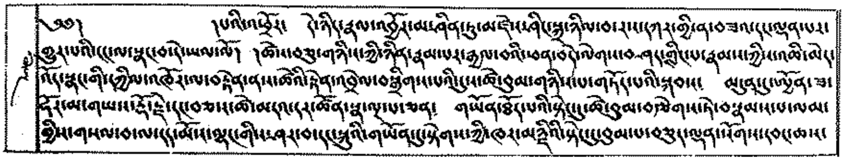


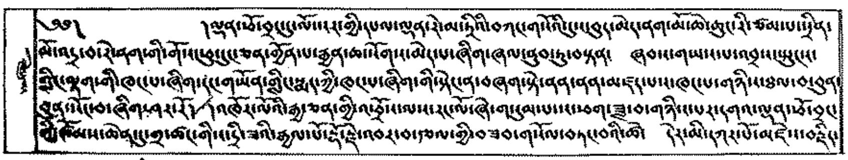


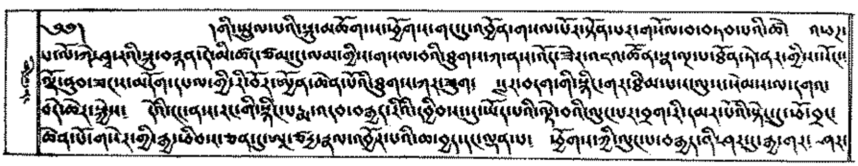


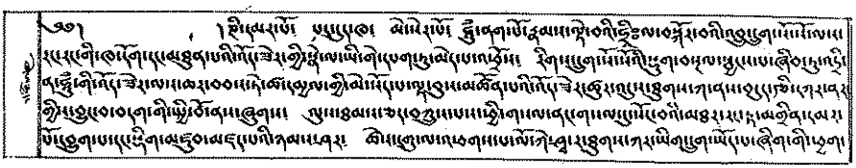


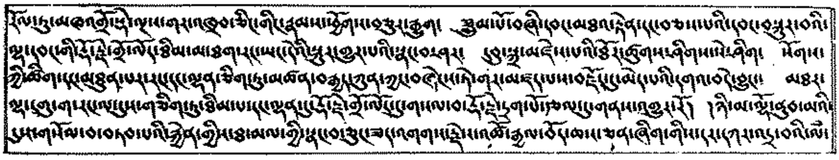


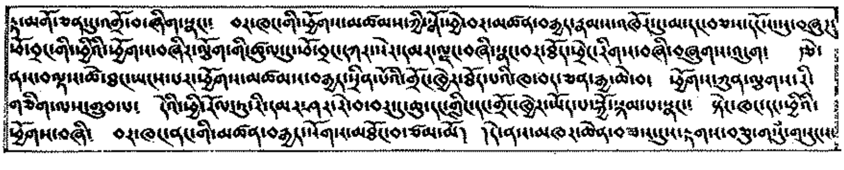


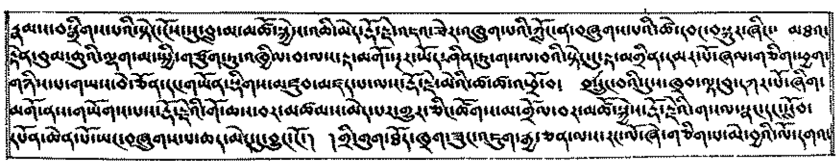


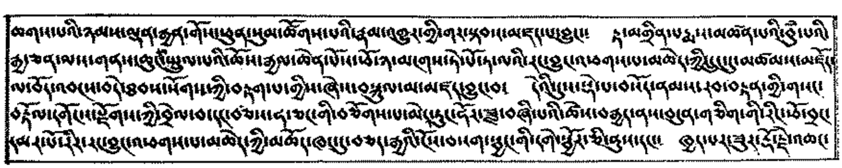


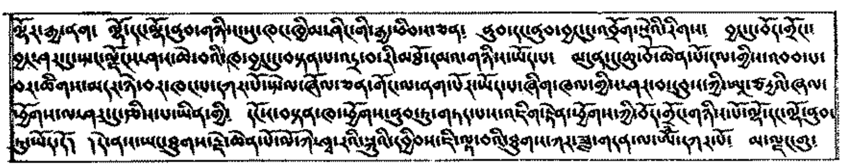


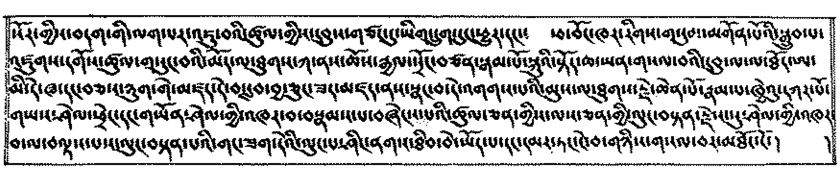


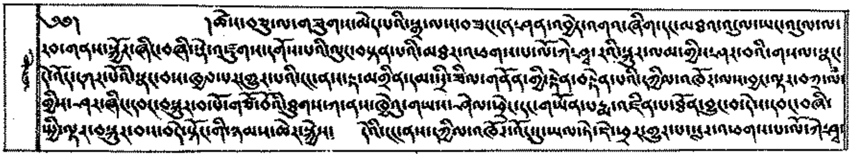


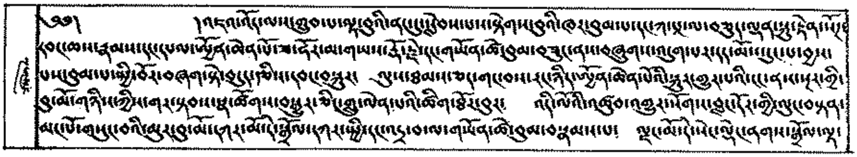


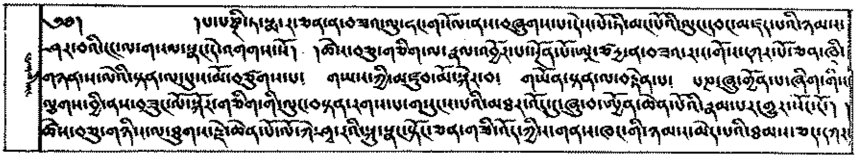


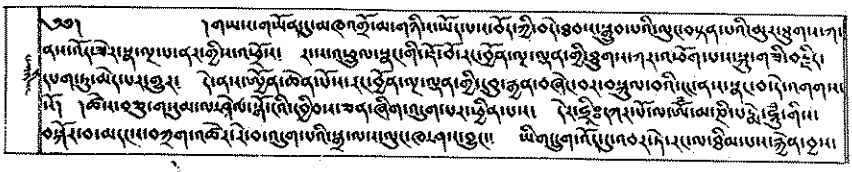


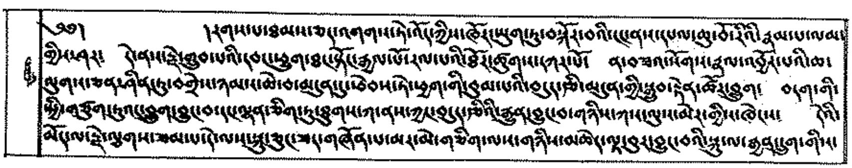


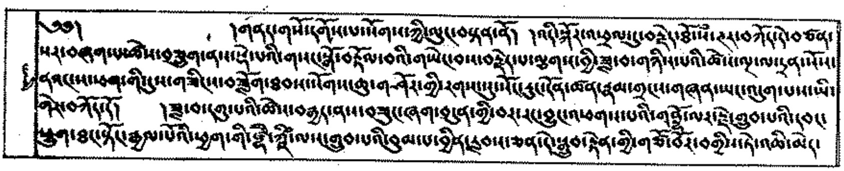


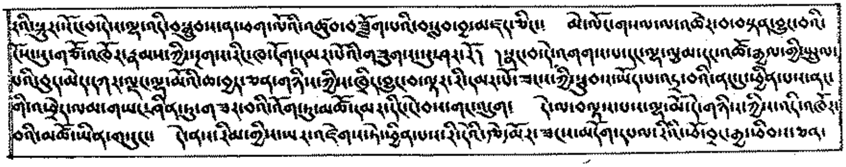


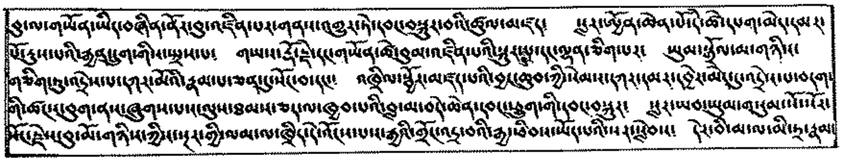


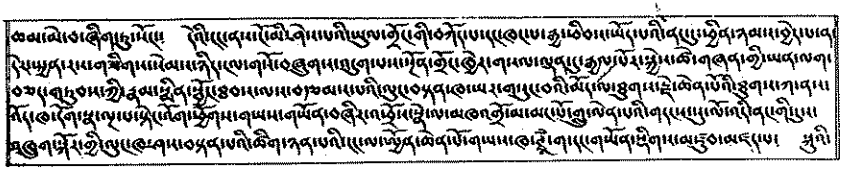


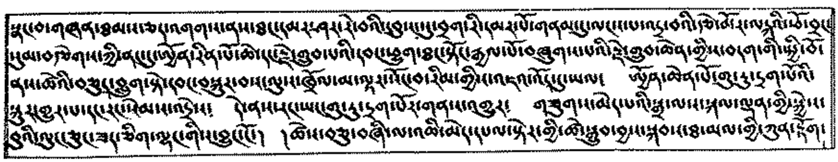


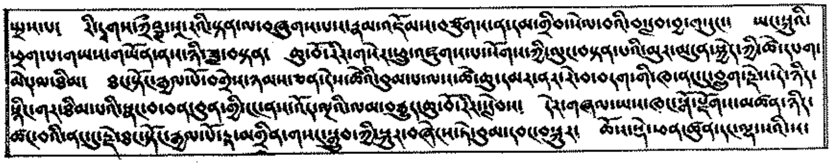


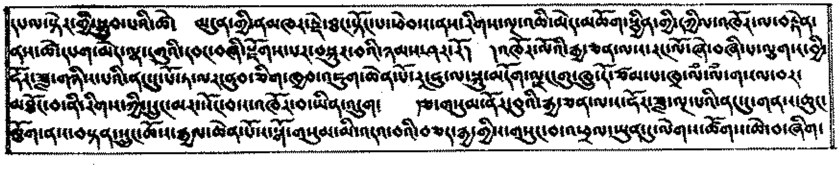


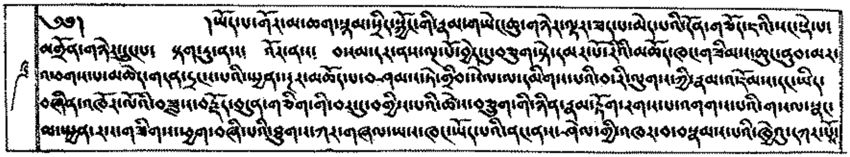


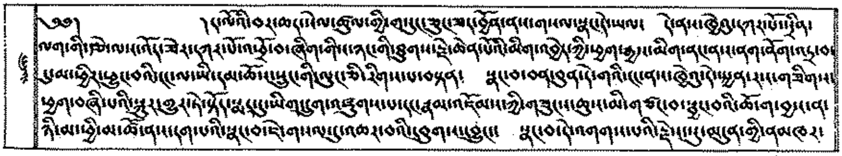


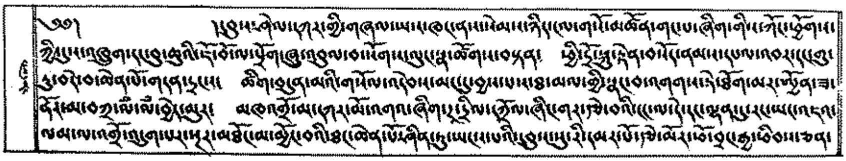


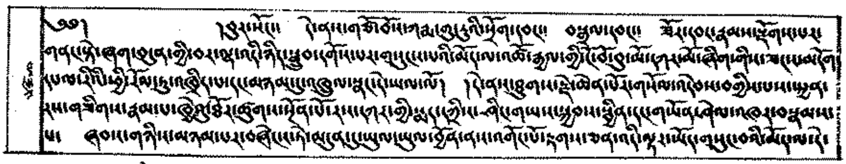


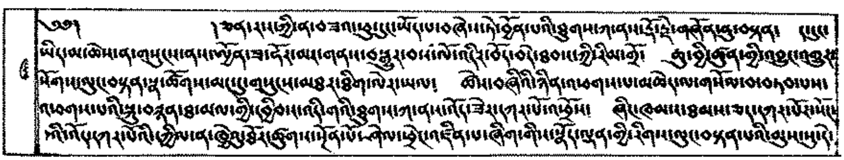


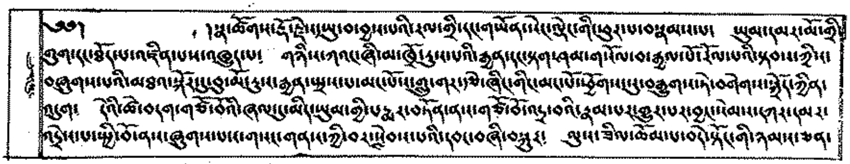


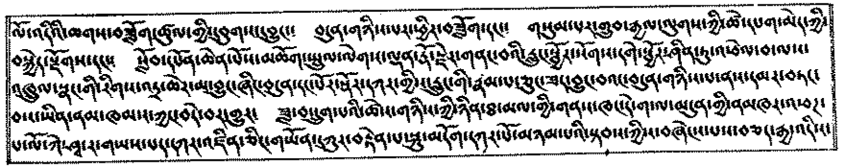


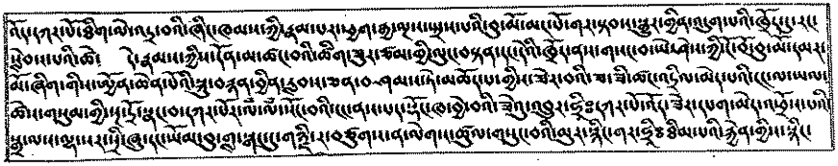


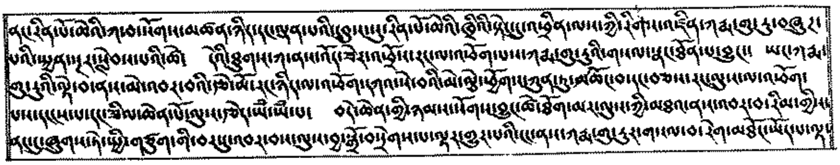


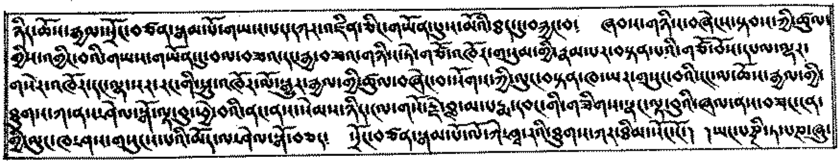


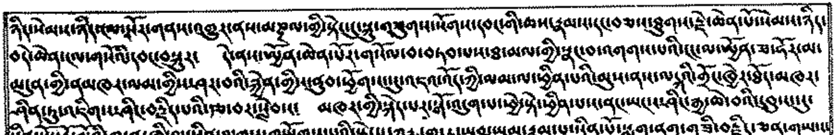


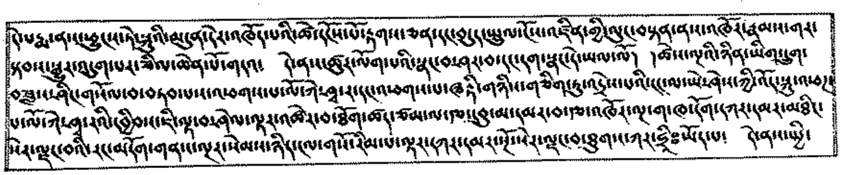


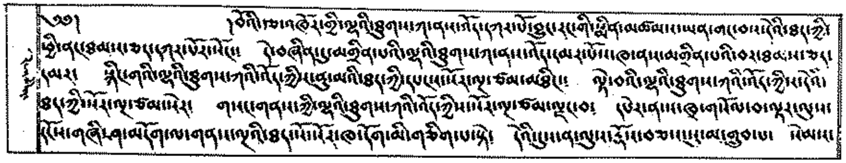


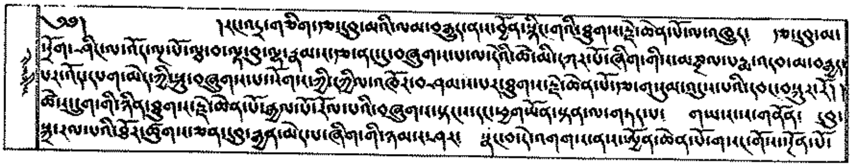


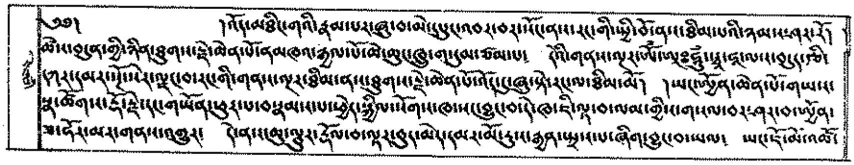


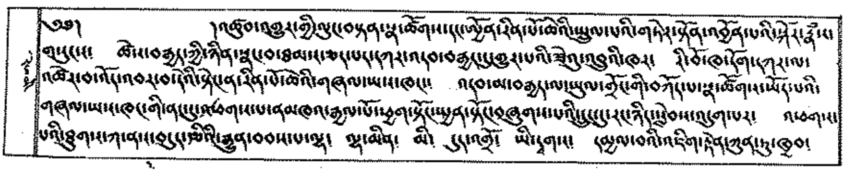


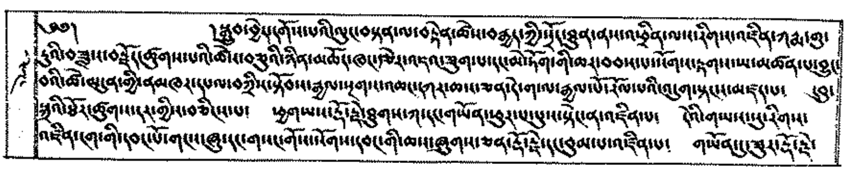


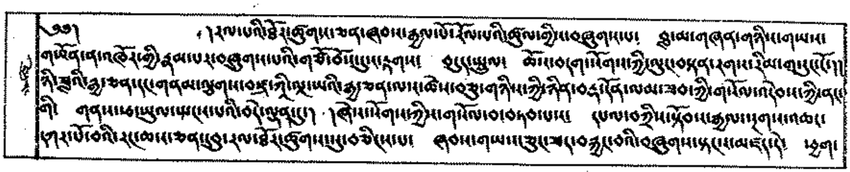


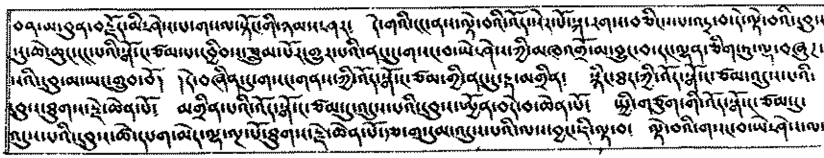


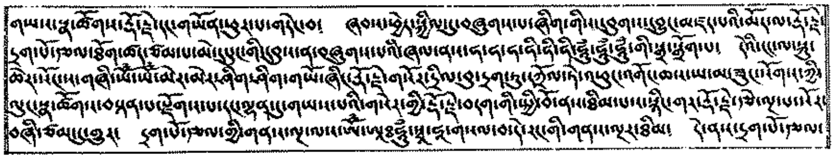


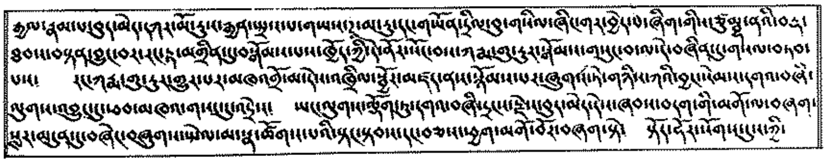


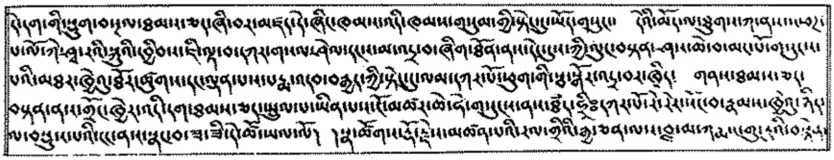


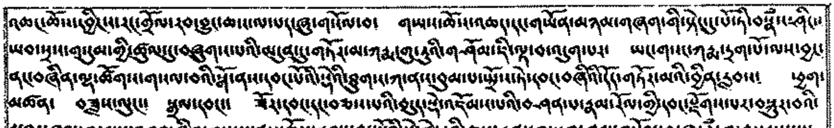


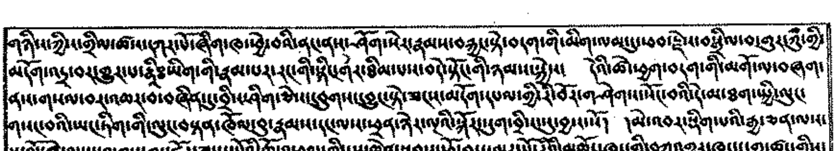


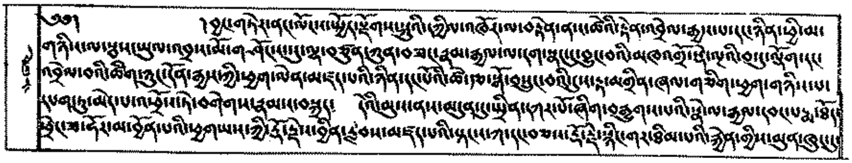


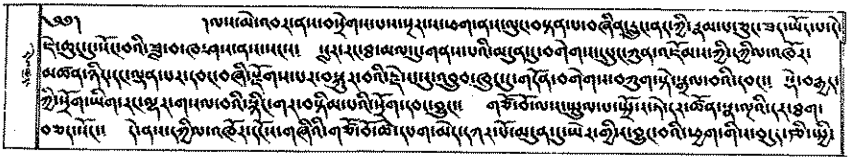


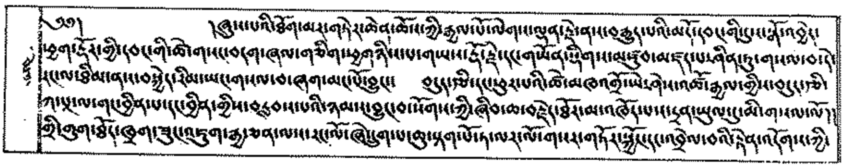


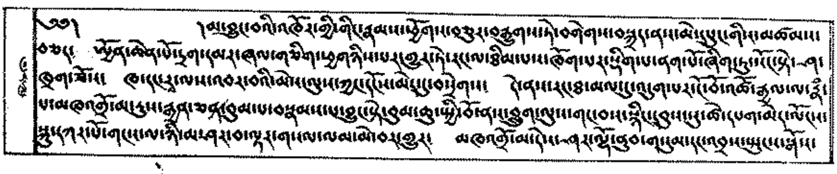


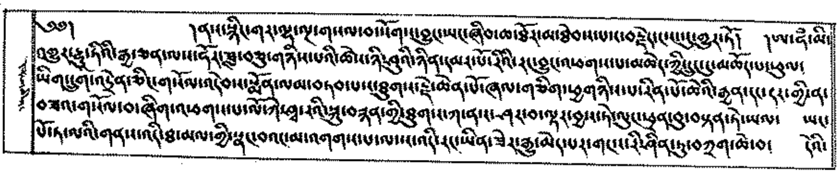


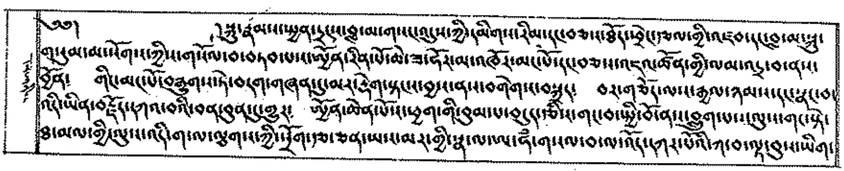












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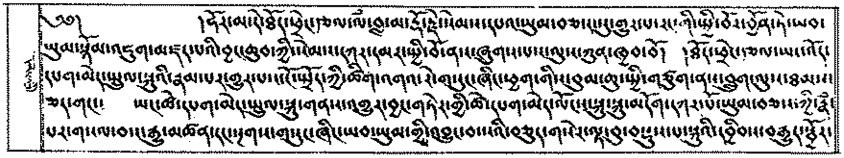
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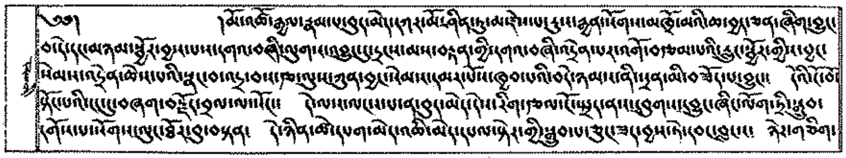
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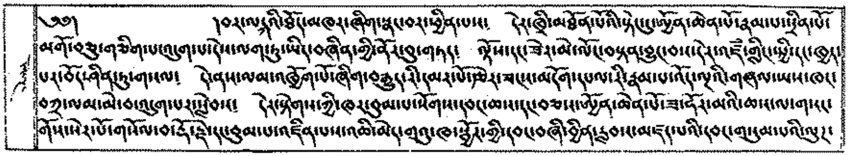
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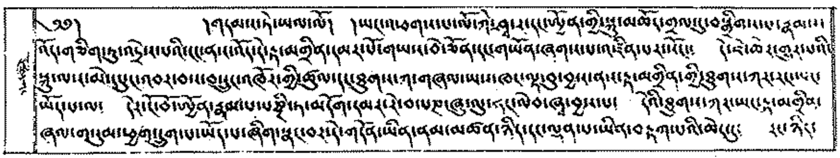
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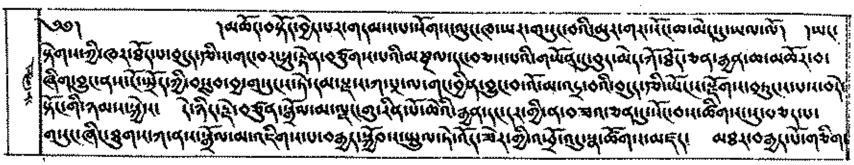
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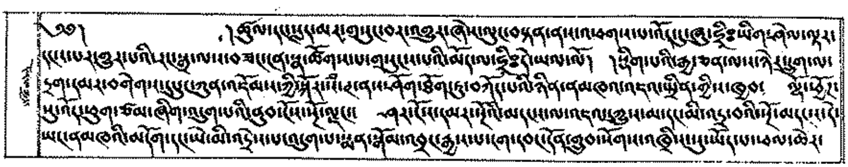


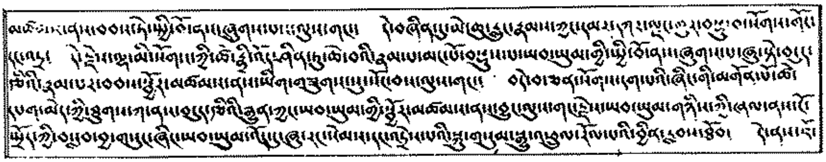


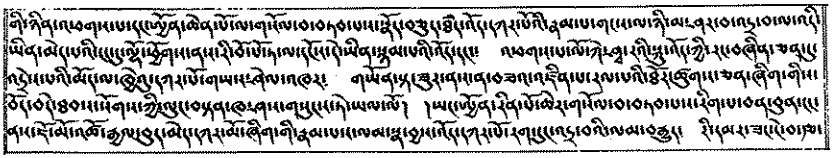


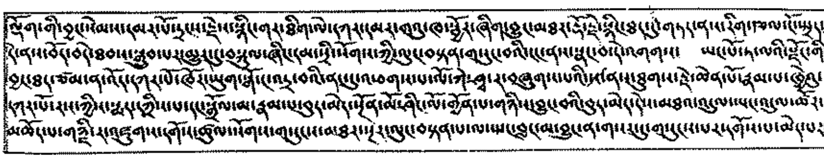


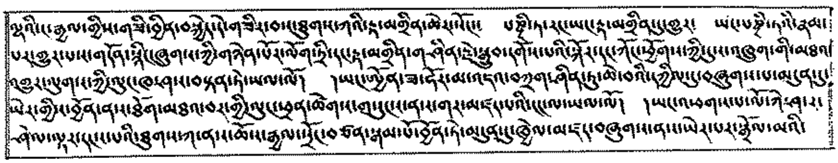


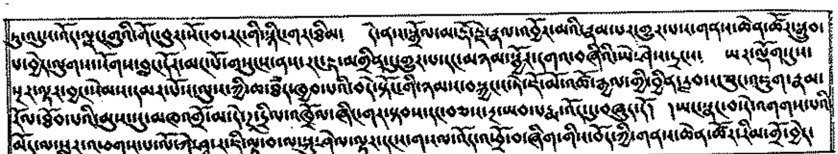


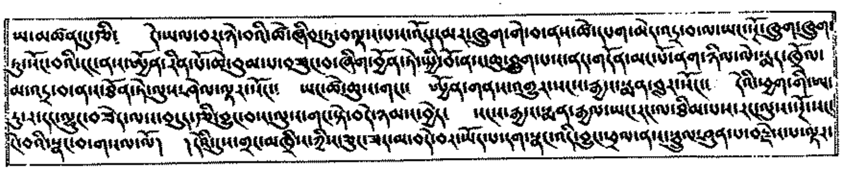


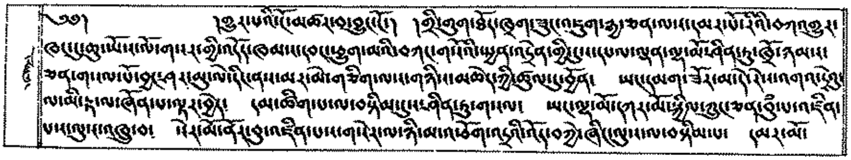


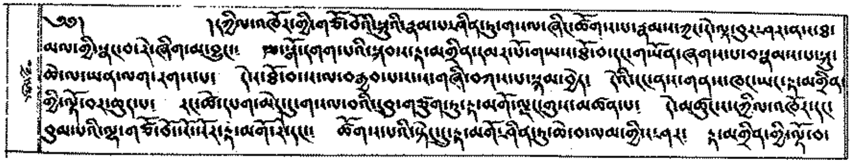


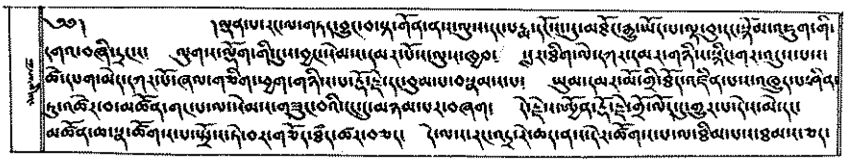


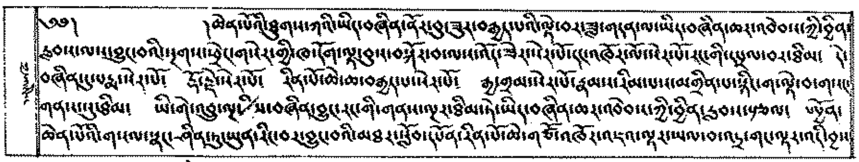


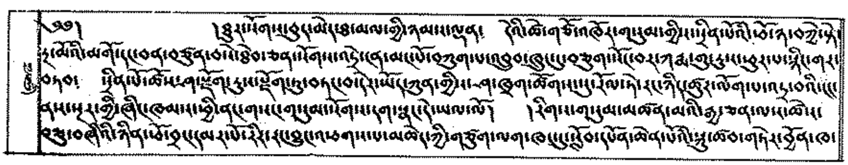


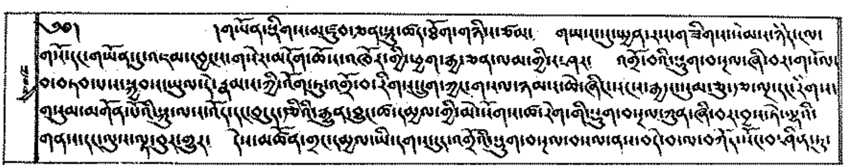


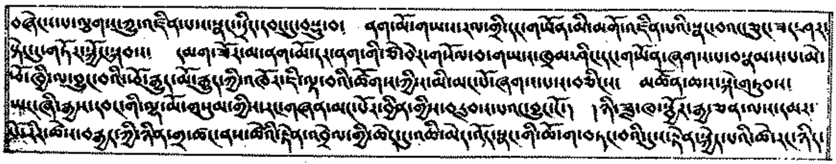


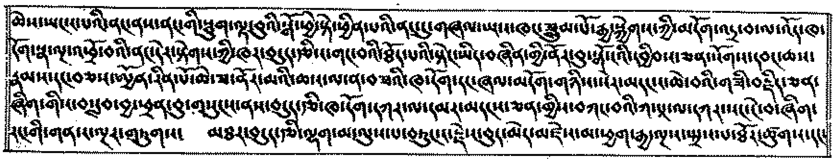


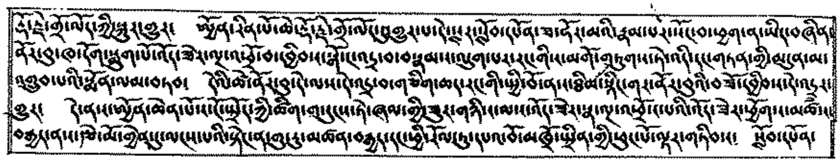


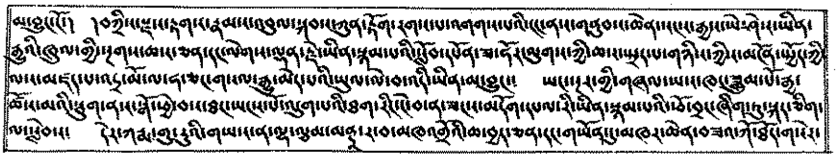


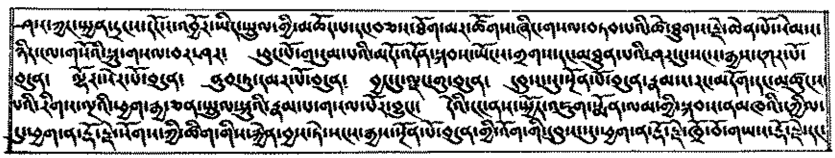


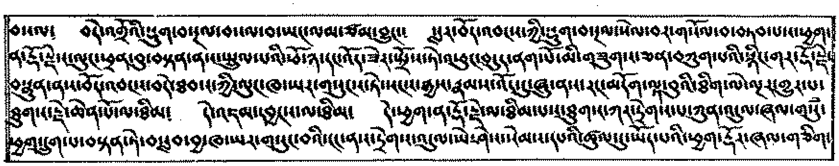


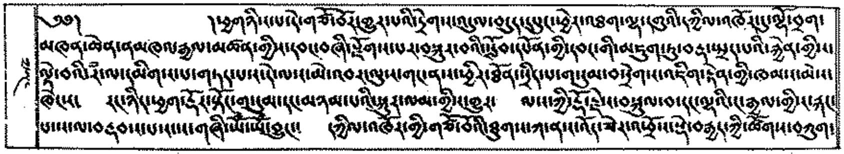


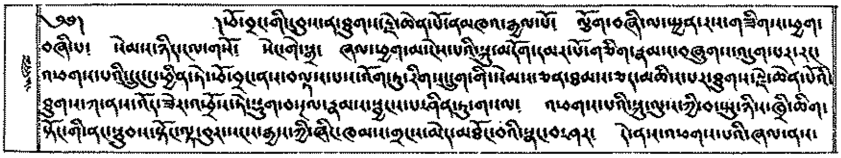


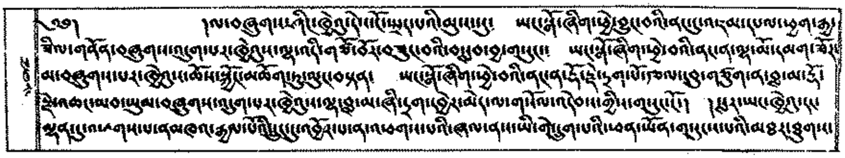


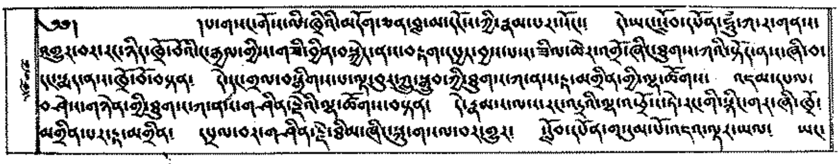


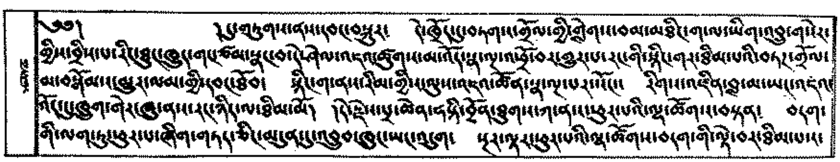


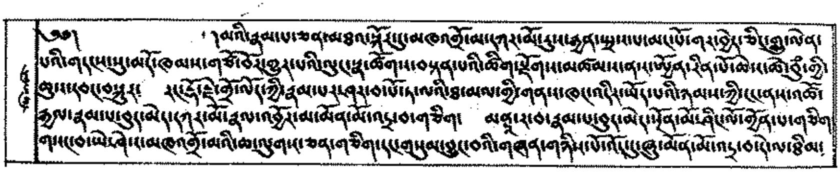


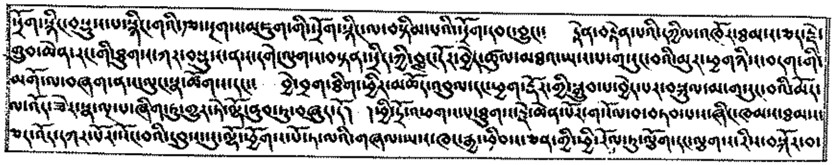


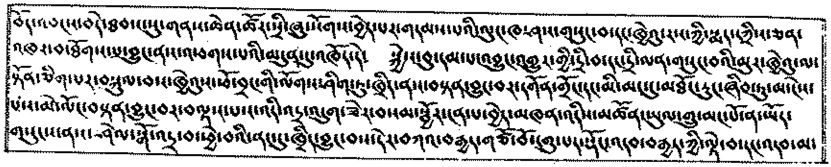


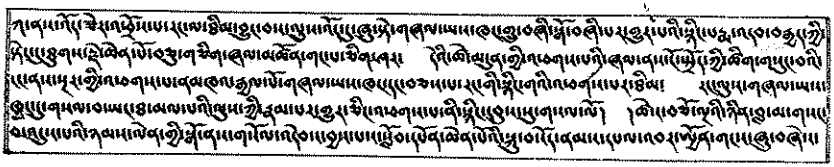


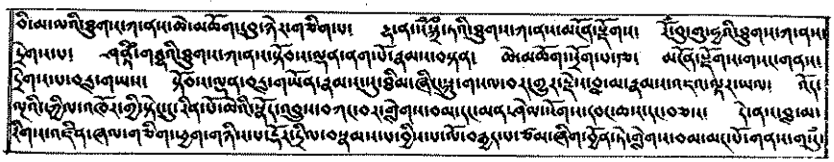


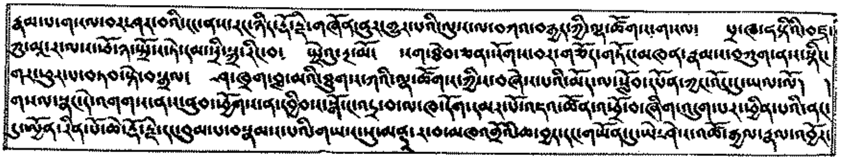


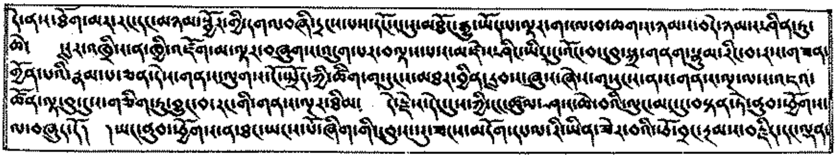


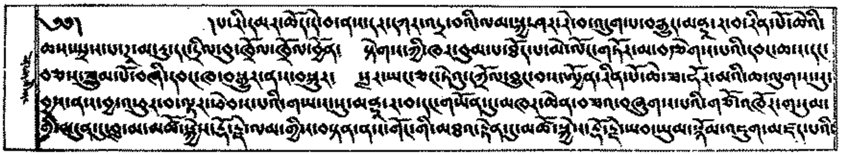


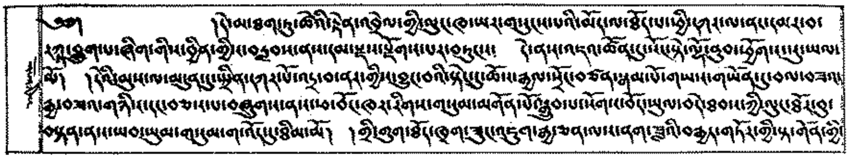


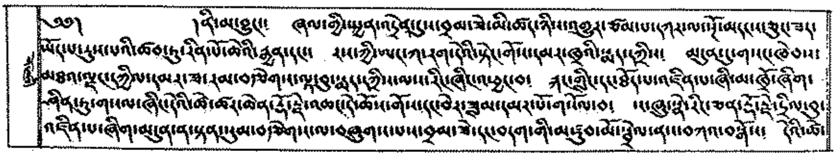


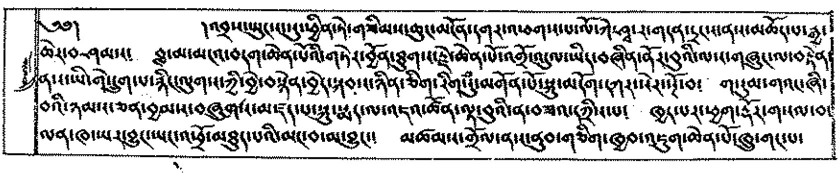


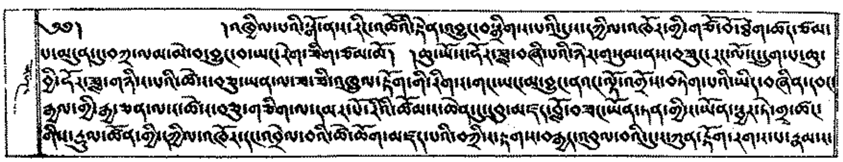


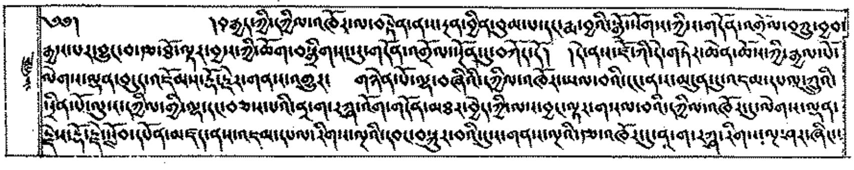


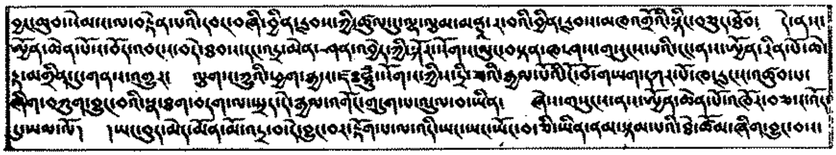


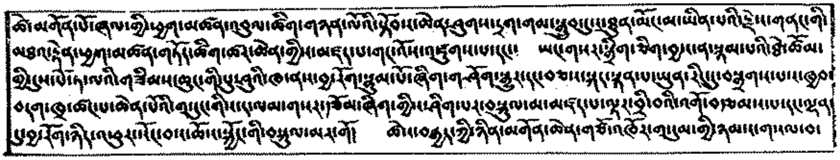


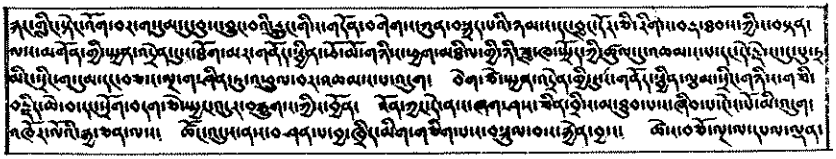


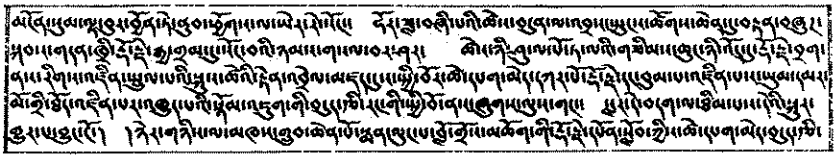


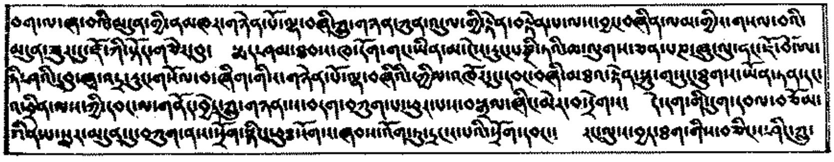


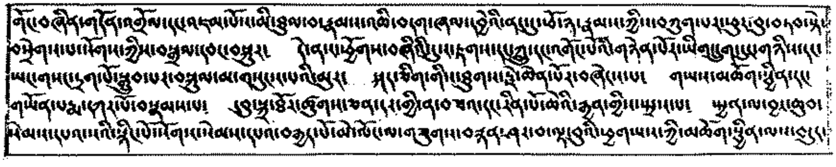


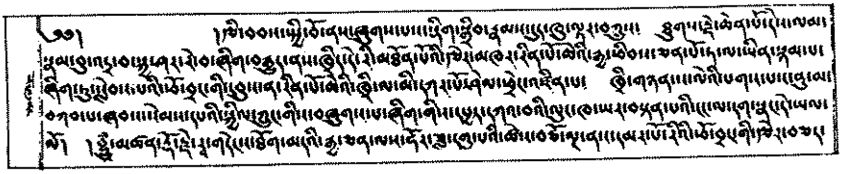


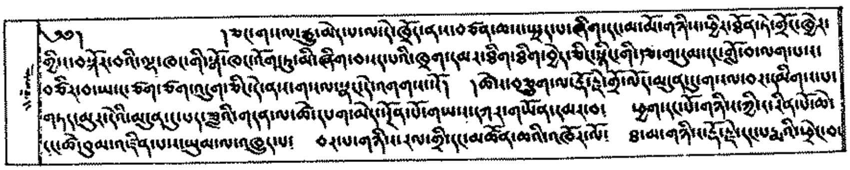


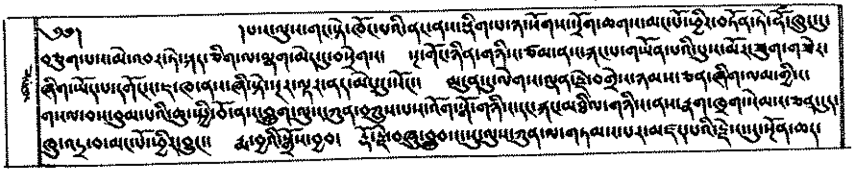


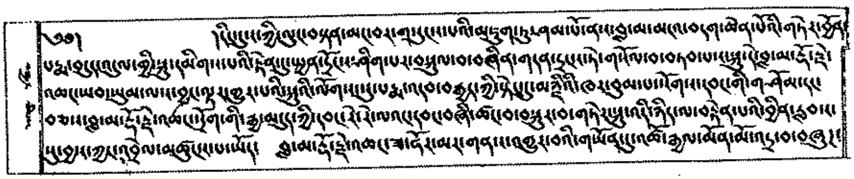


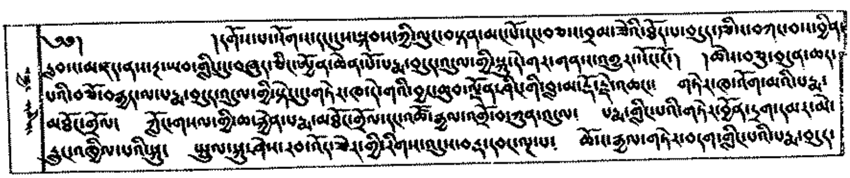


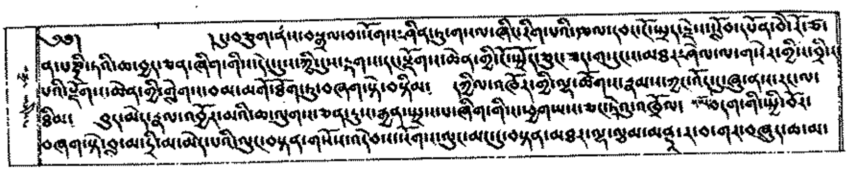


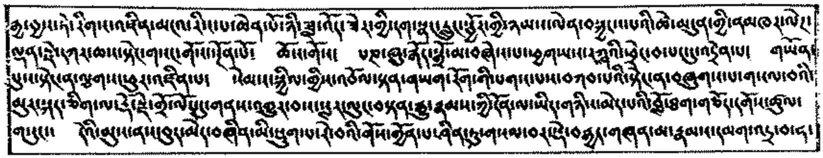


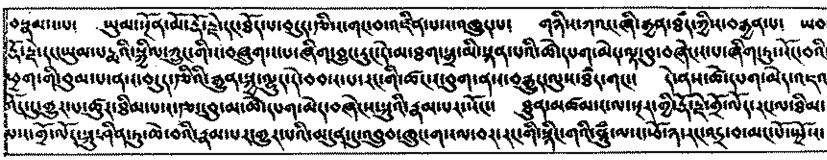


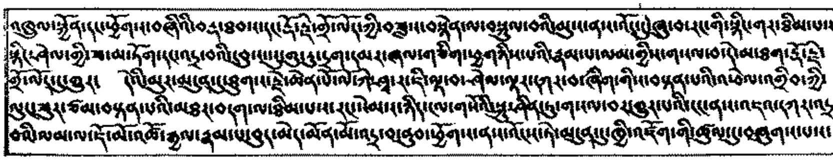


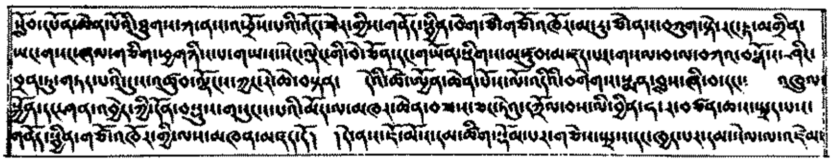


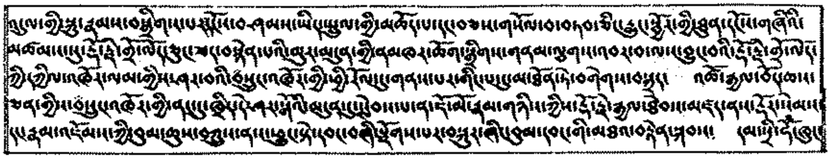


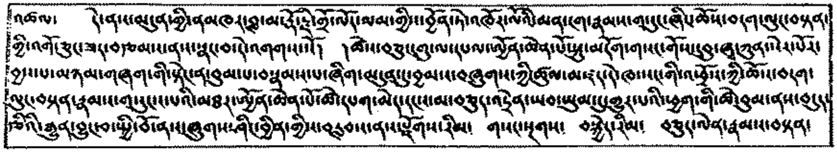












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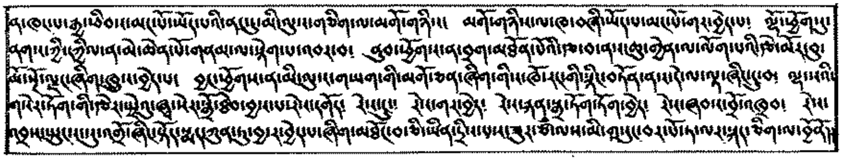
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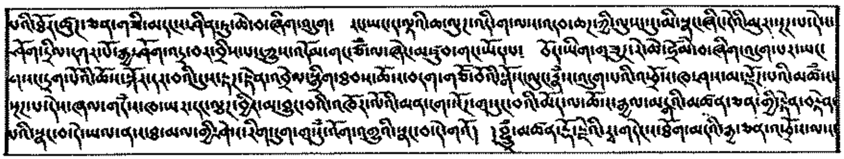
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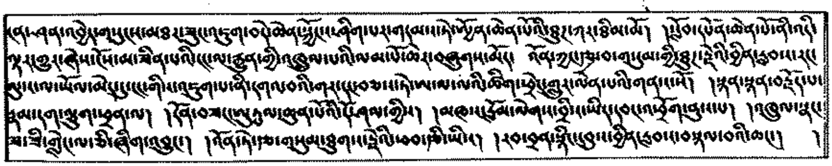


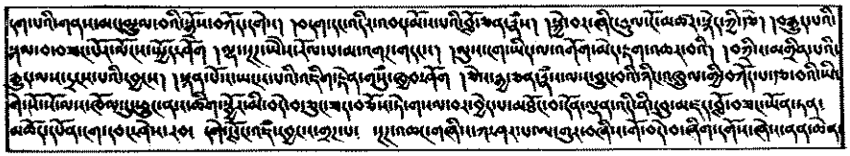
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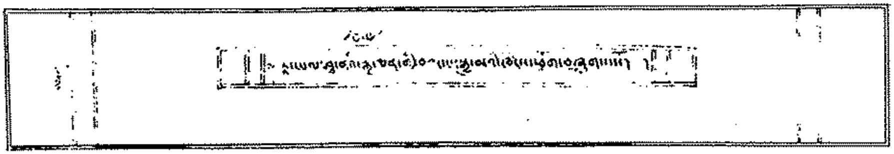


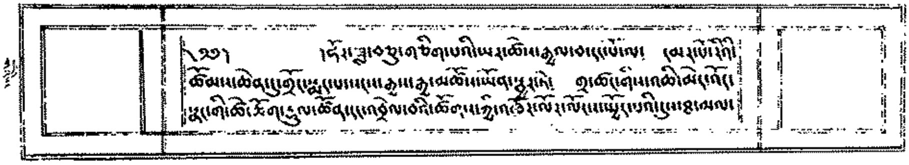


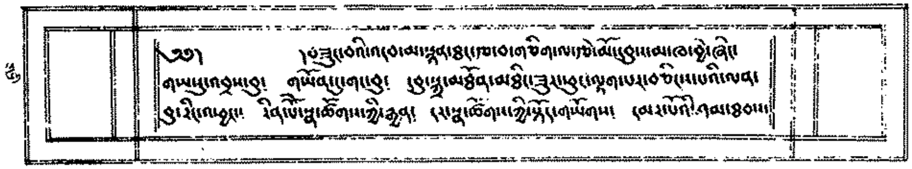


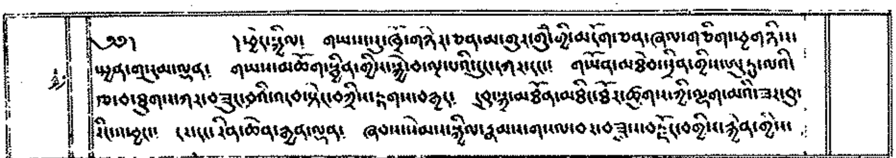


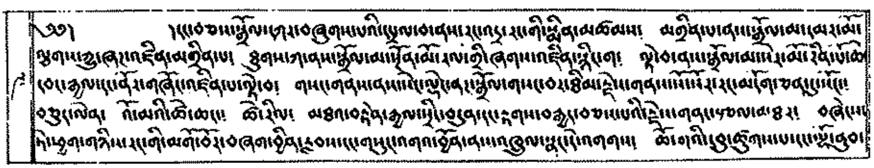
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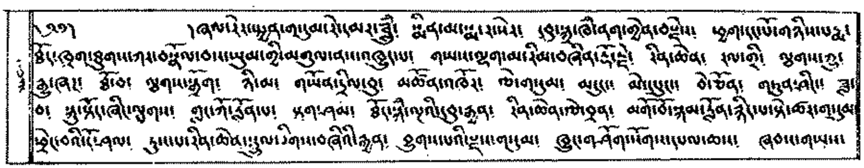


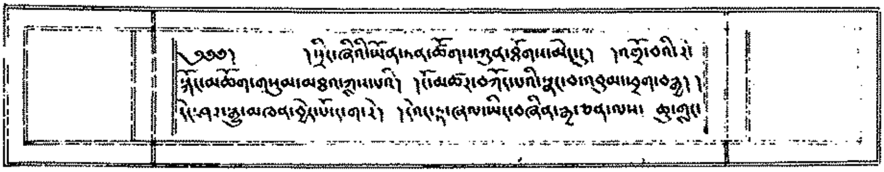


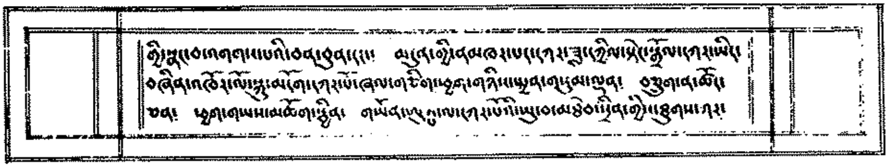


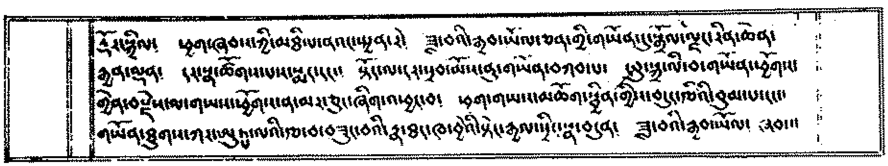


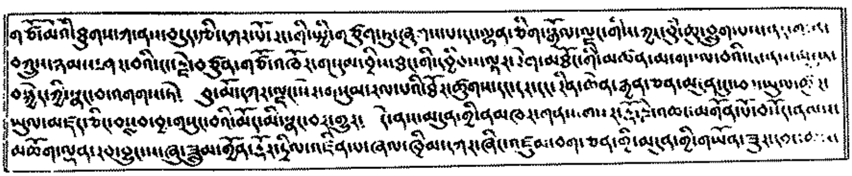


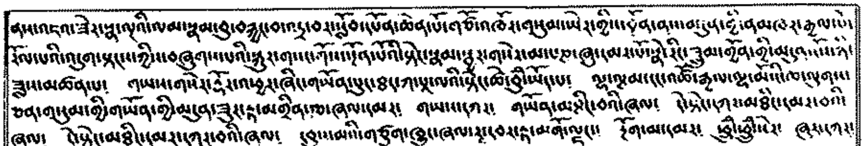


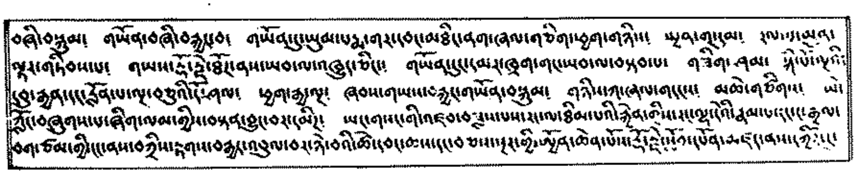


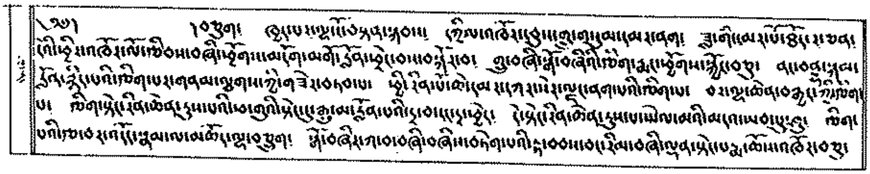


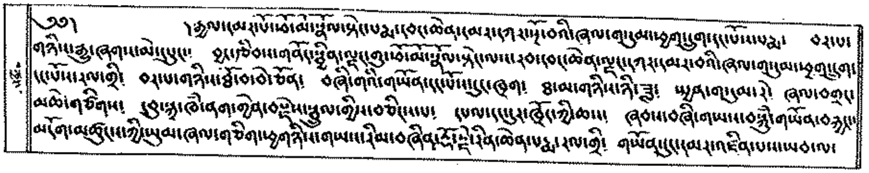


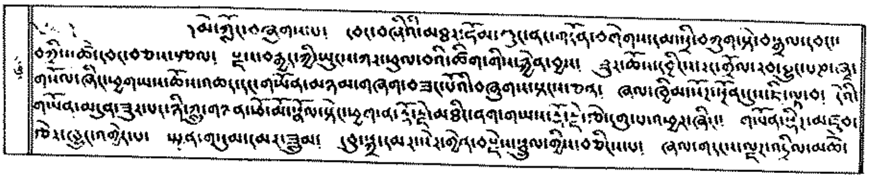


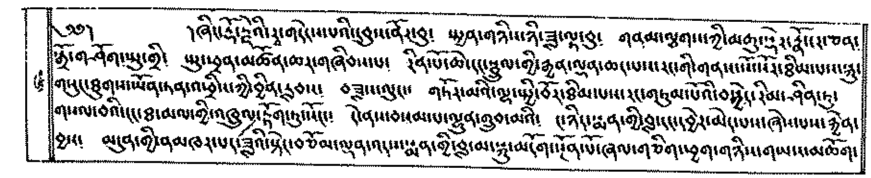


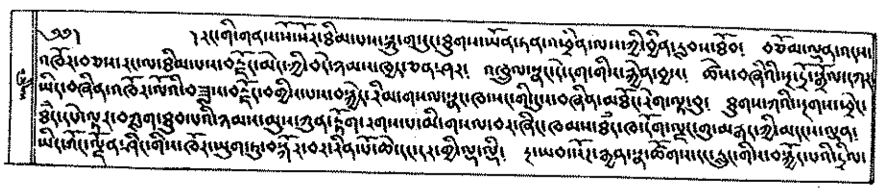


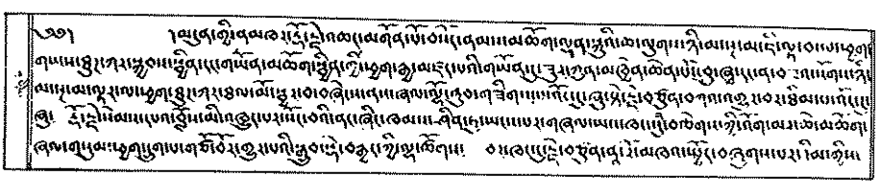


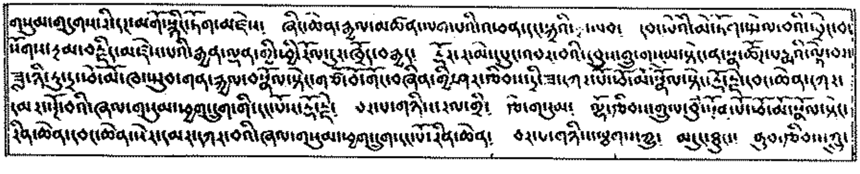


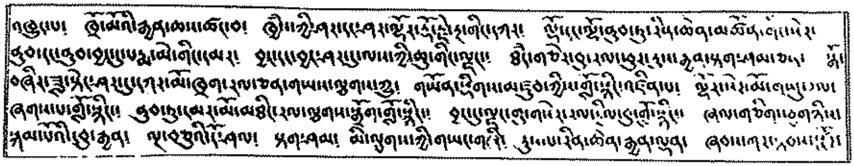


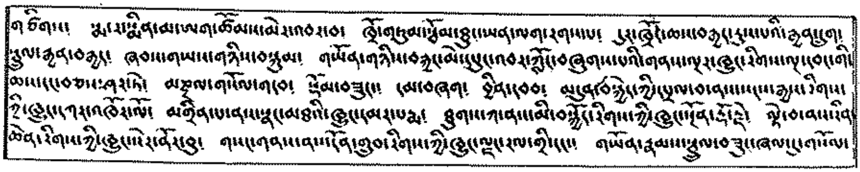


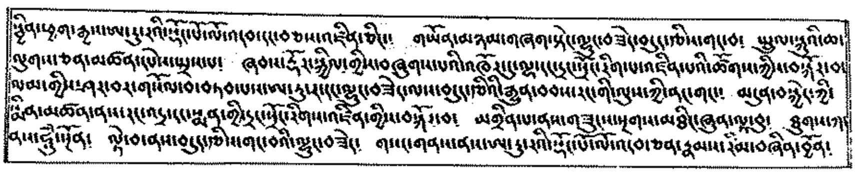


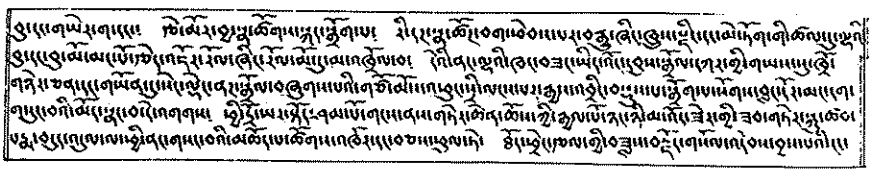


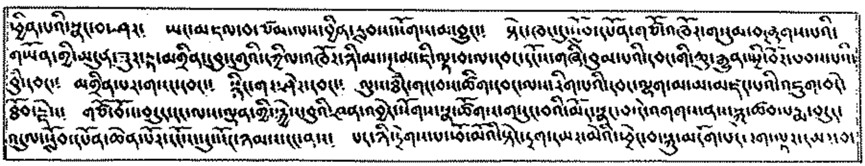


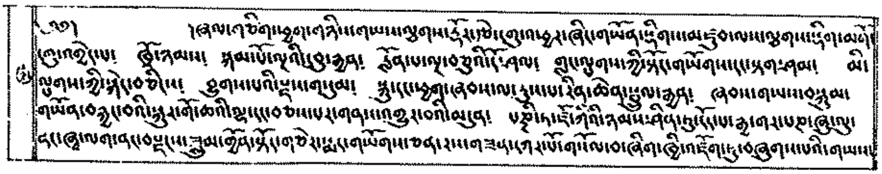


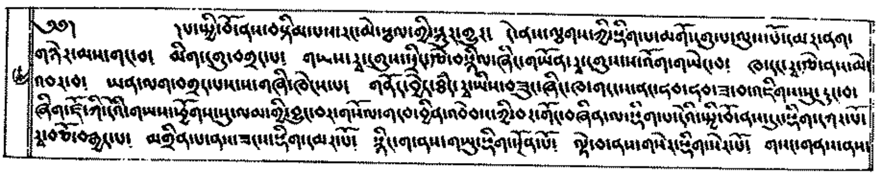


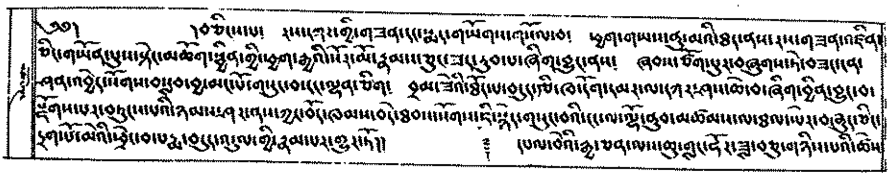


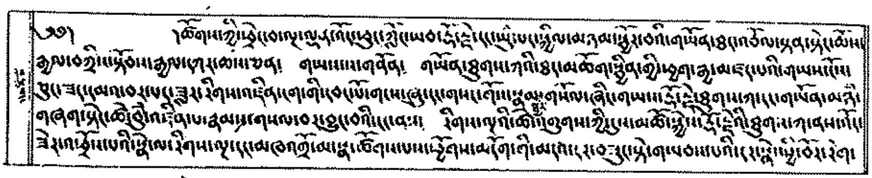


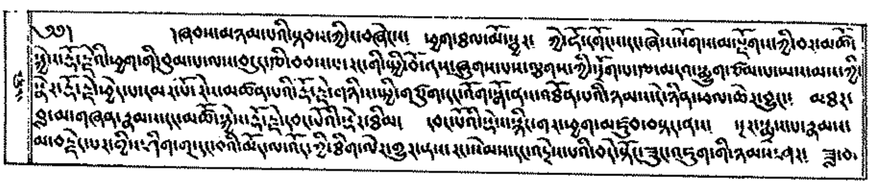


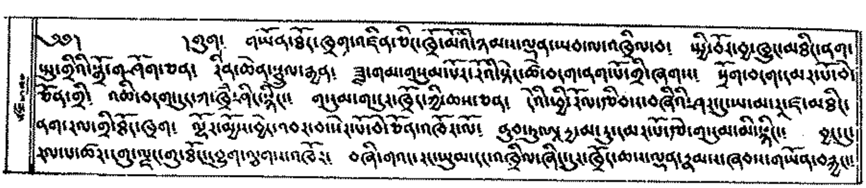


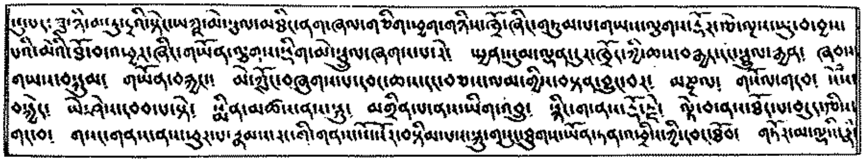


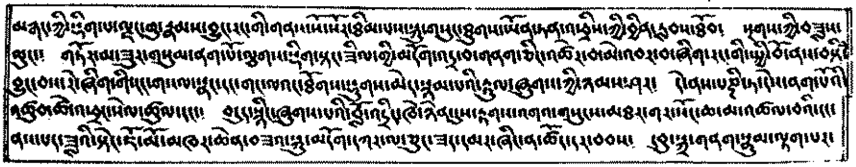


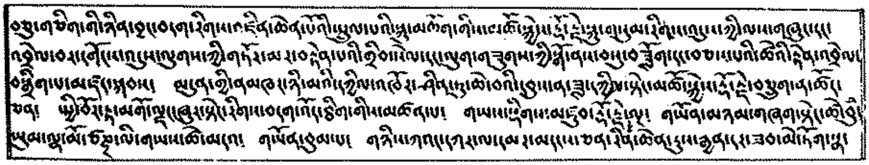


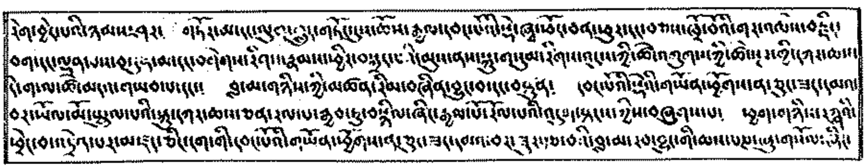


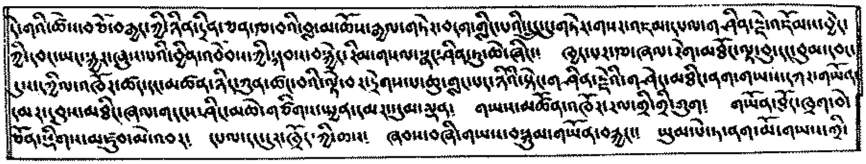


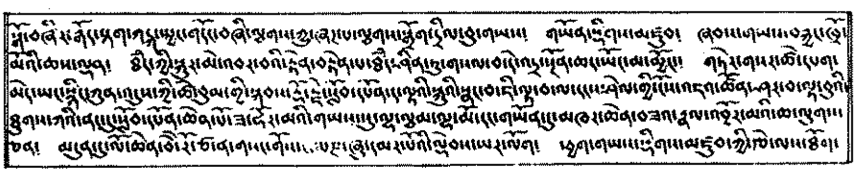


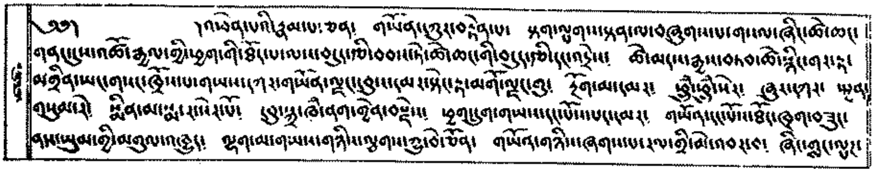


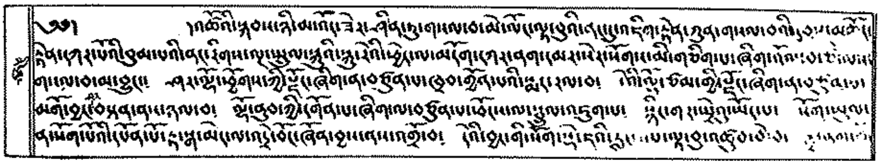


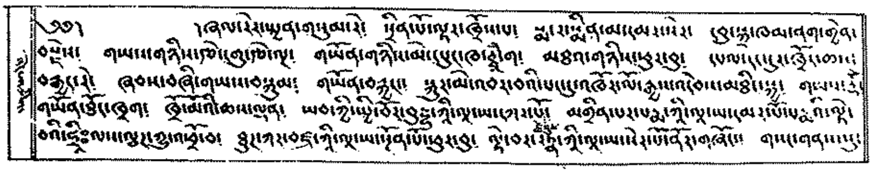


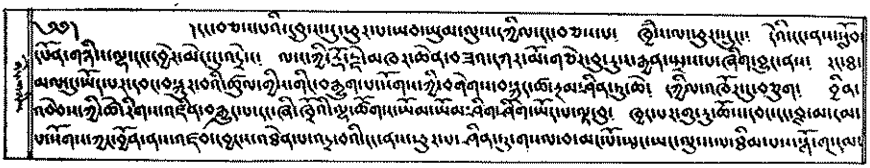


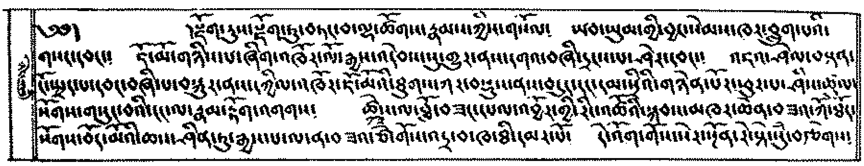


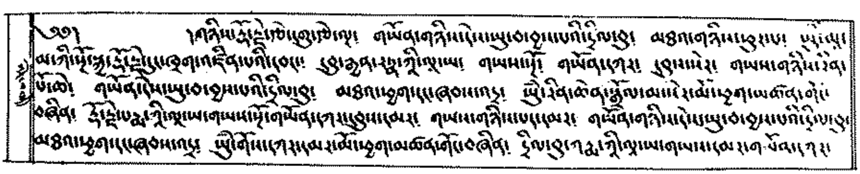


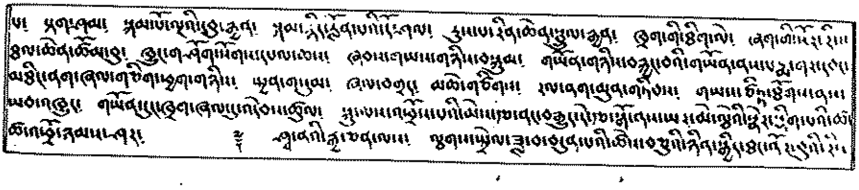


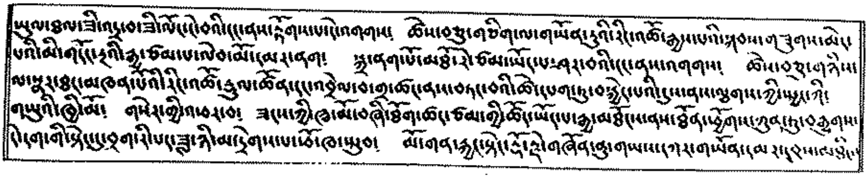


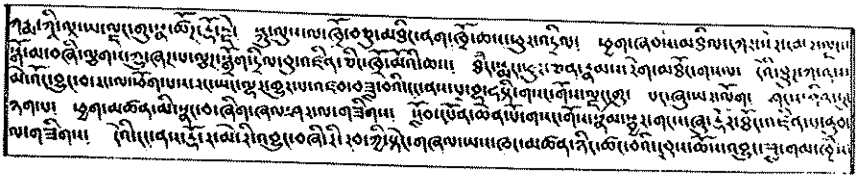


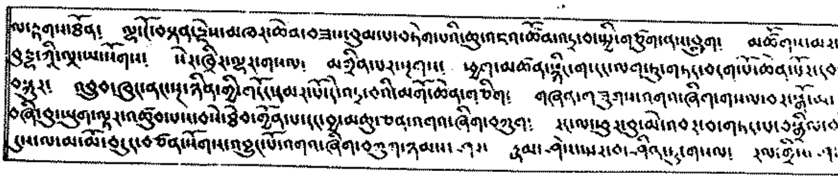


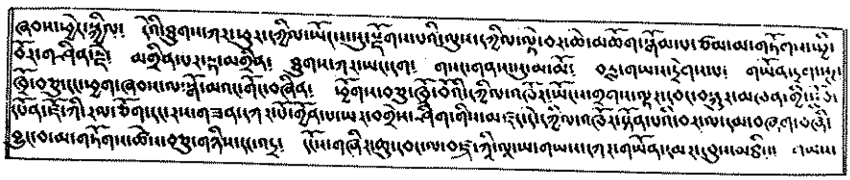


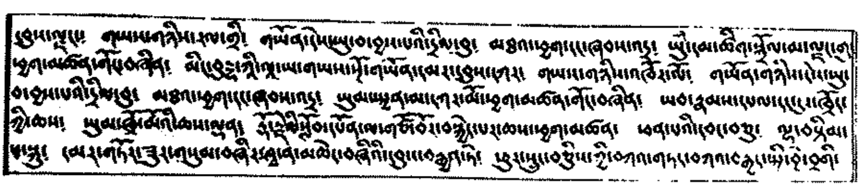


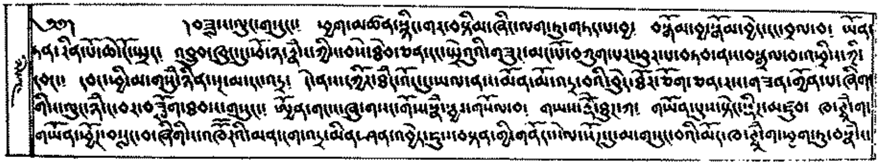


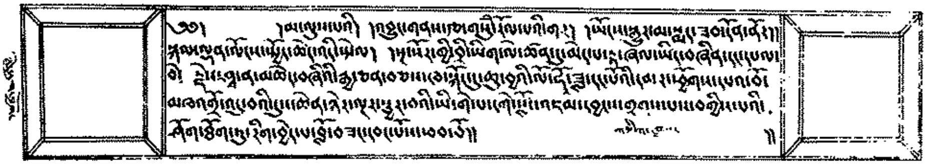




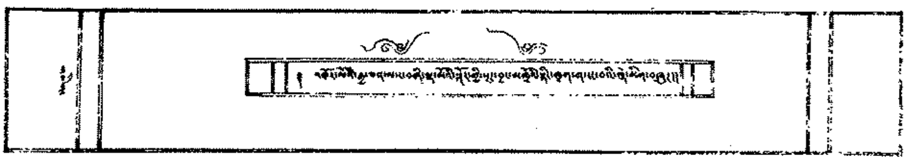


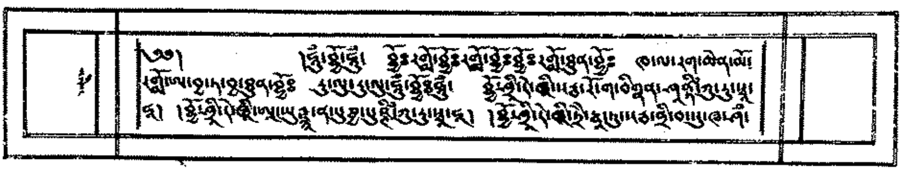


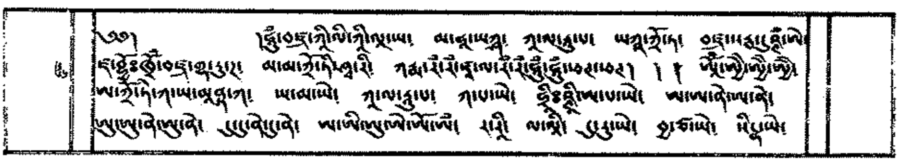


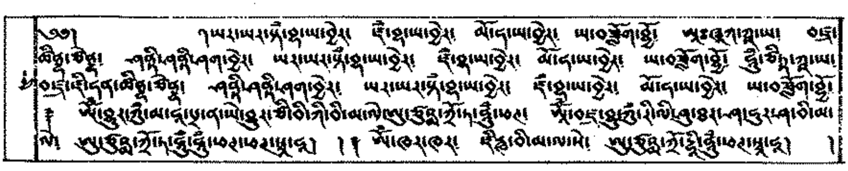


TEXT III



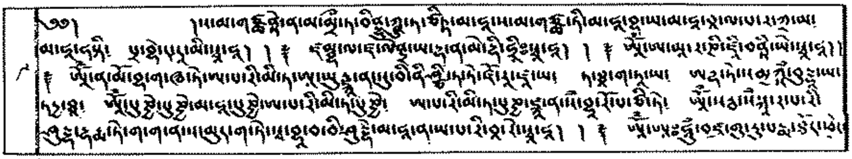


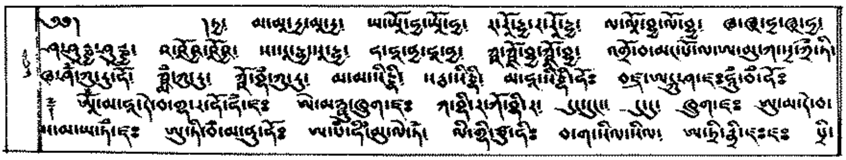


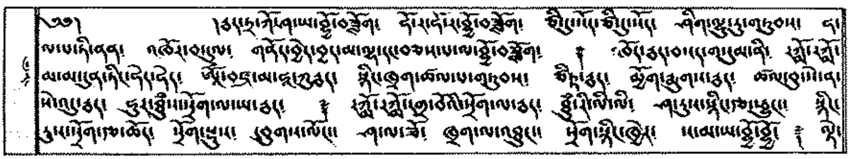


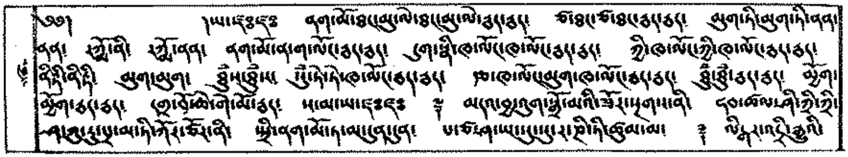


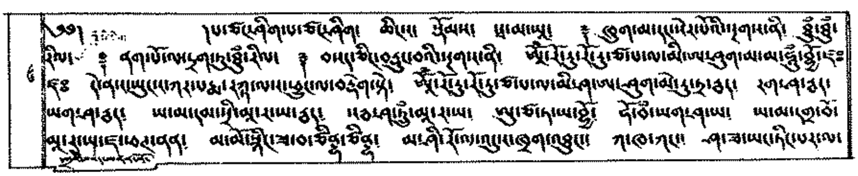


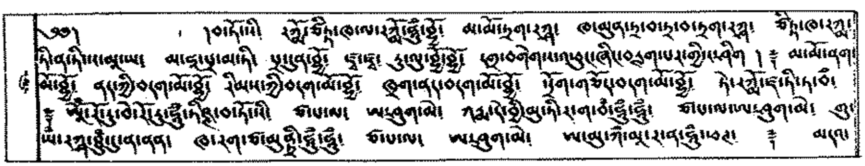


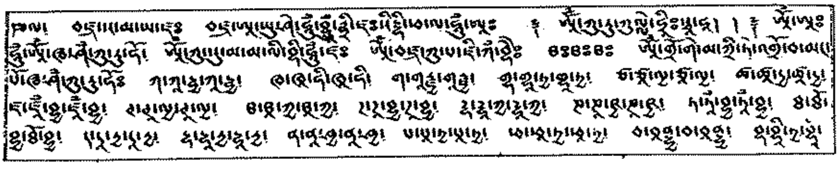


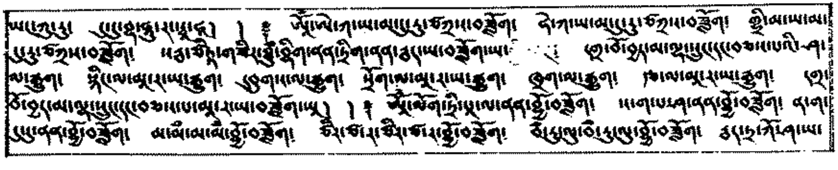


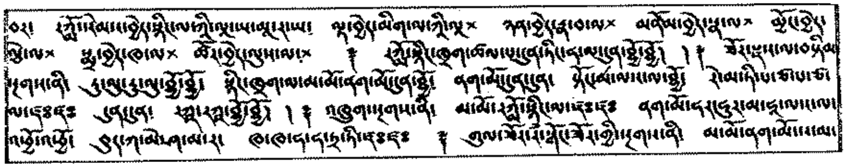


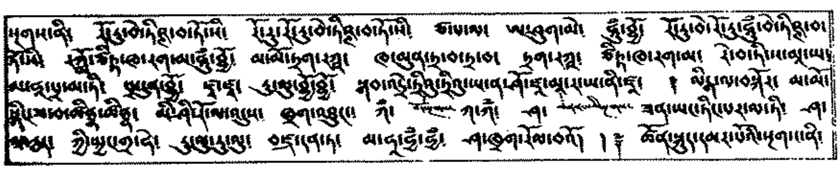


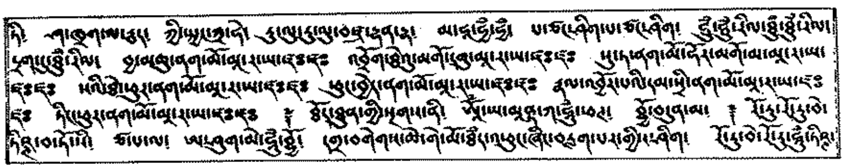


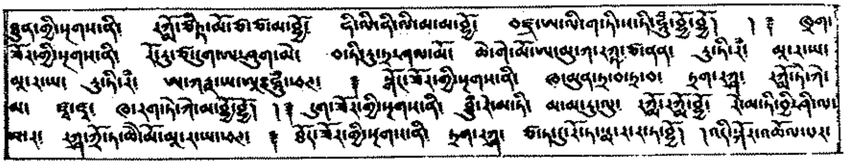


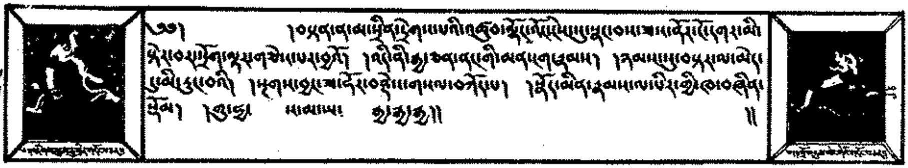




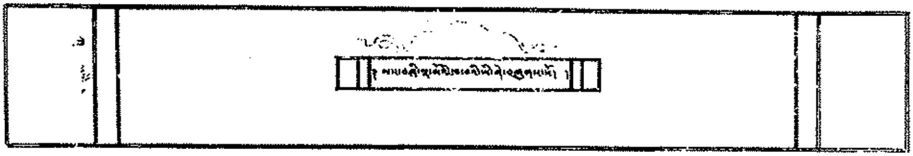


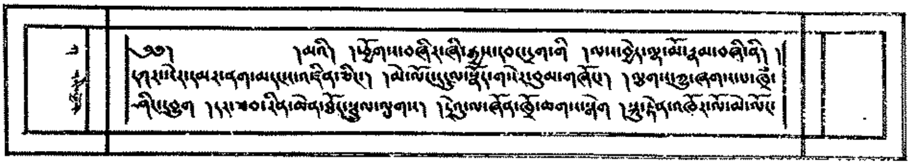




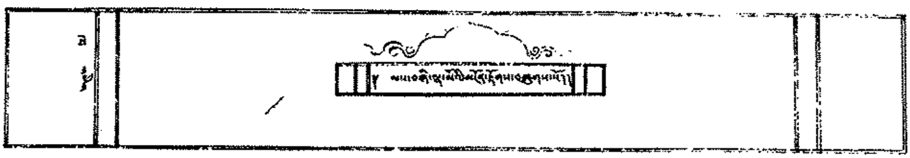


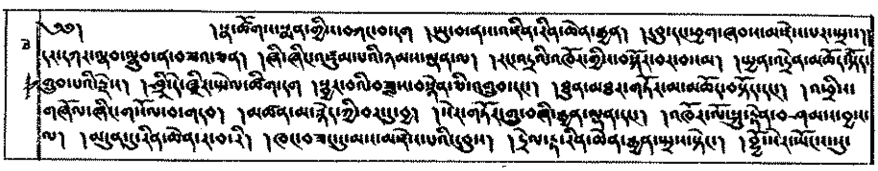
TEXT IV

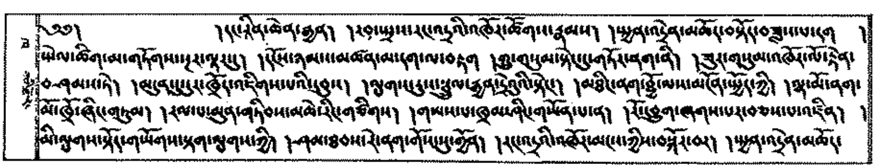


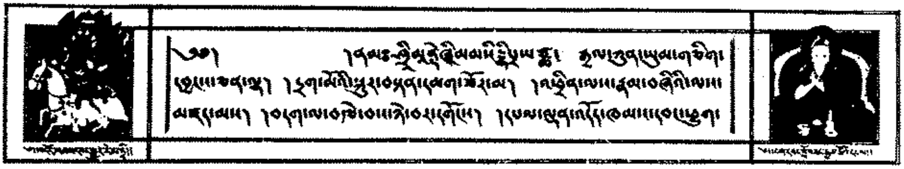


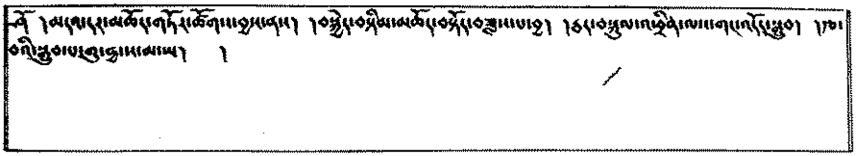
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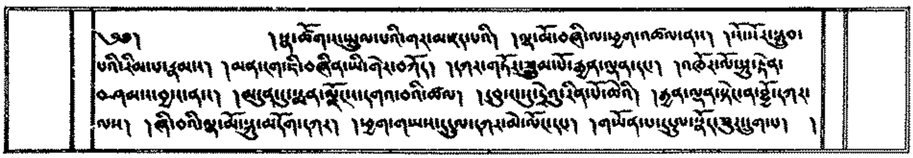


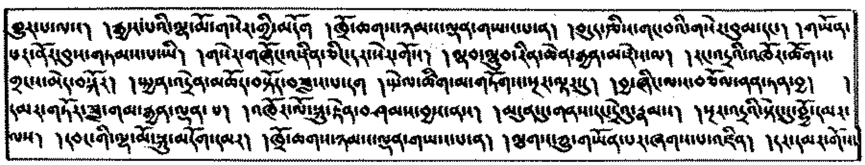


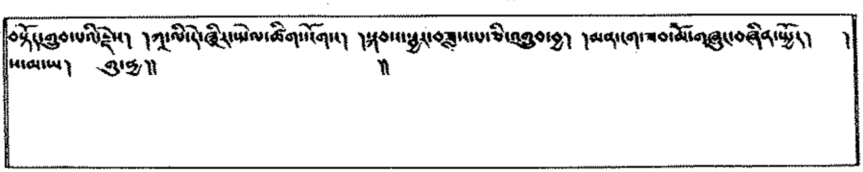




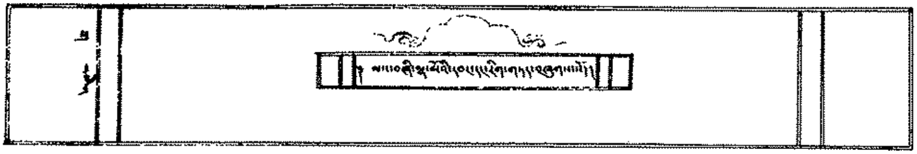


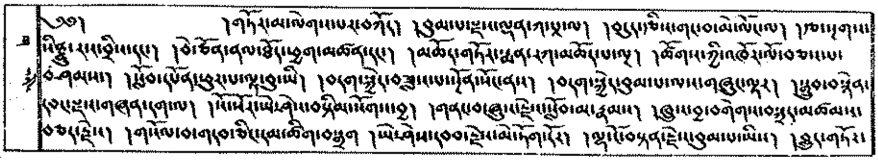


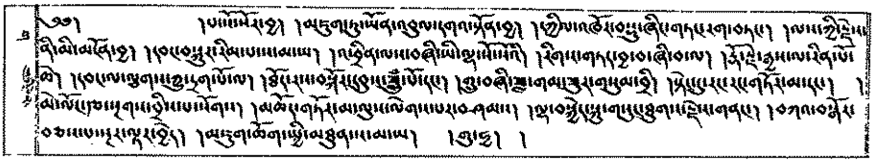




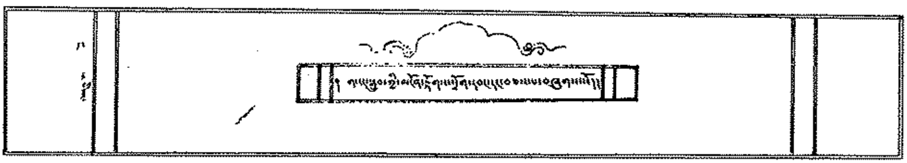
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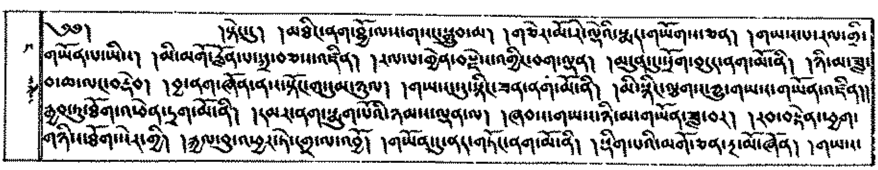


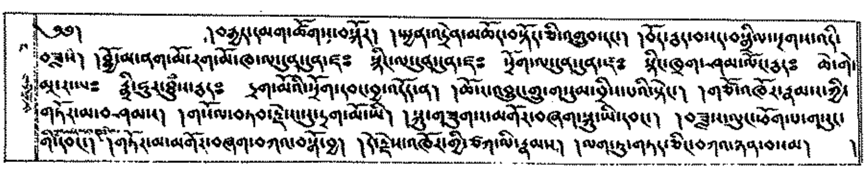


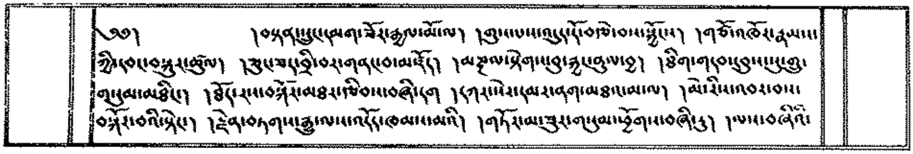


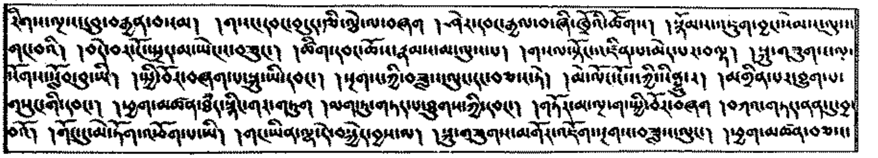
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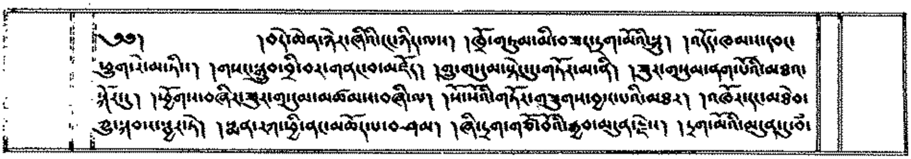


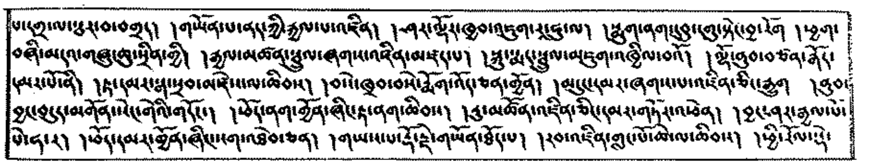


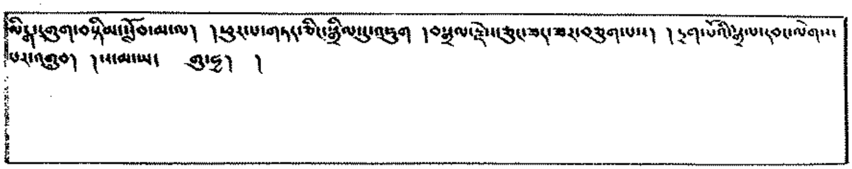




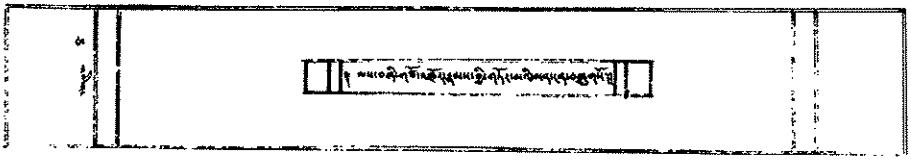


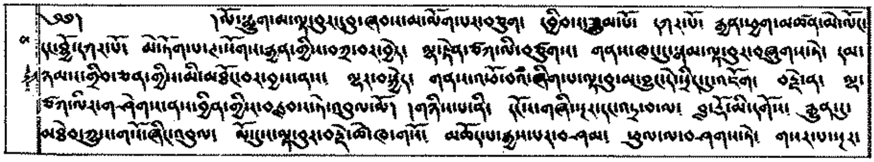


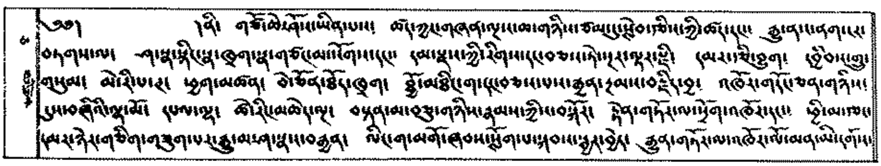




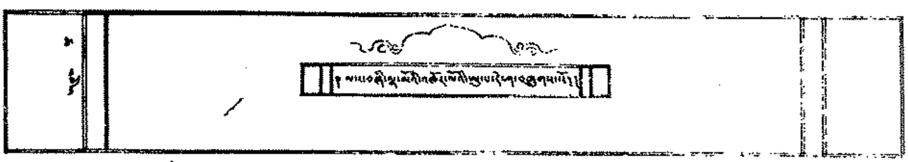
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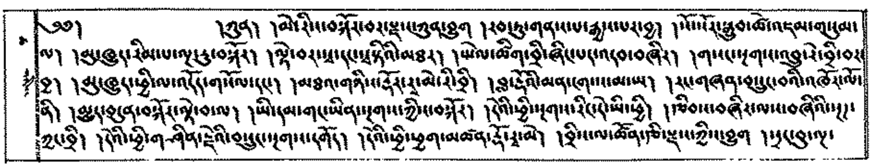


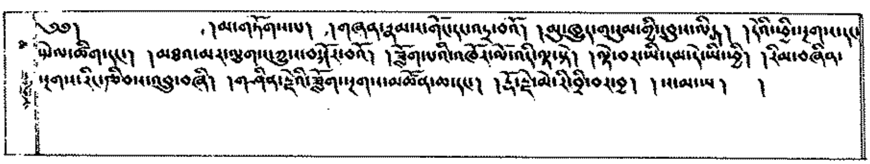


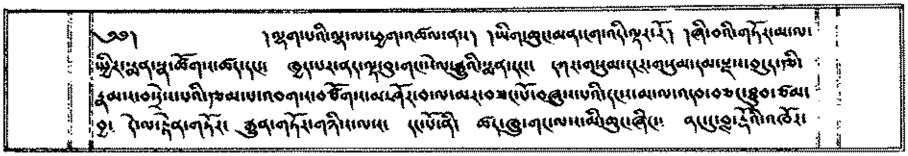


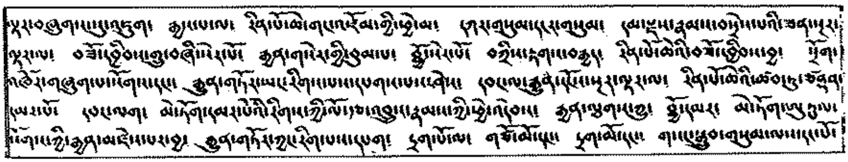
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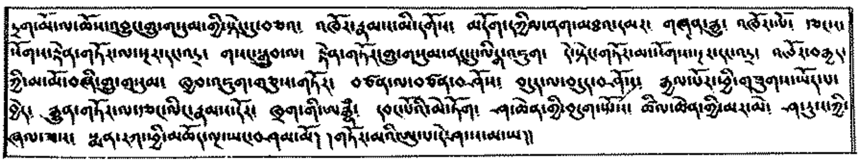


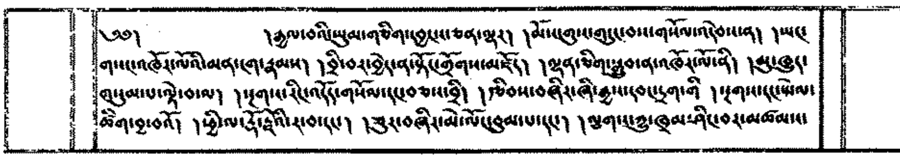


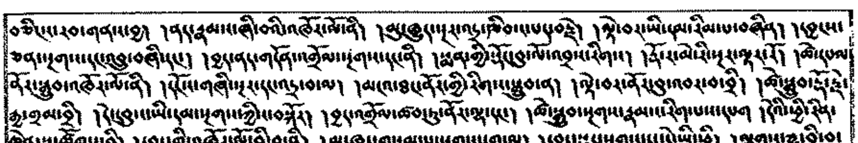




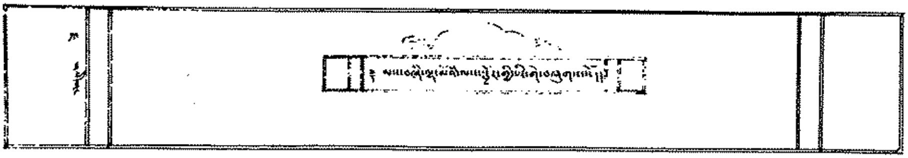


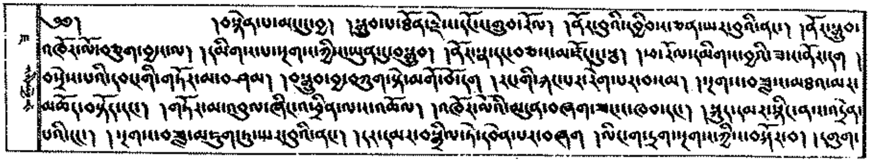




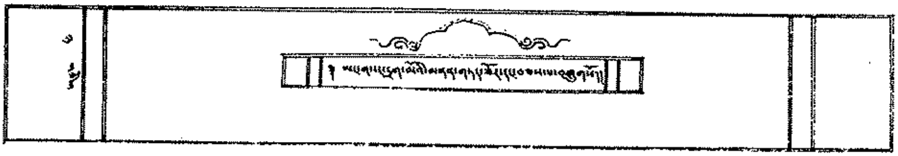


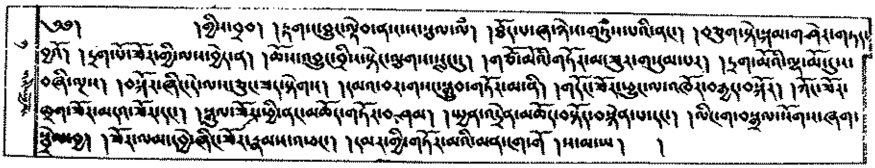
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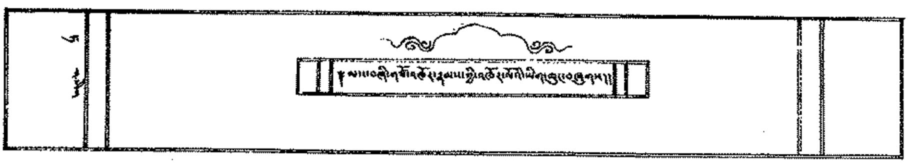


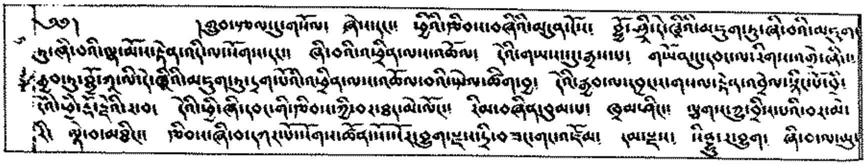
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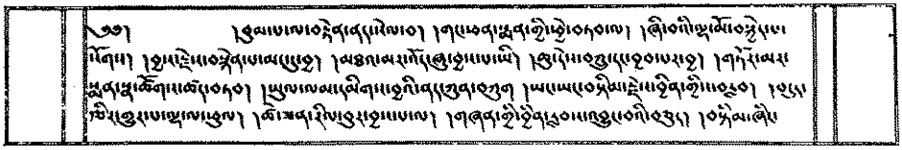


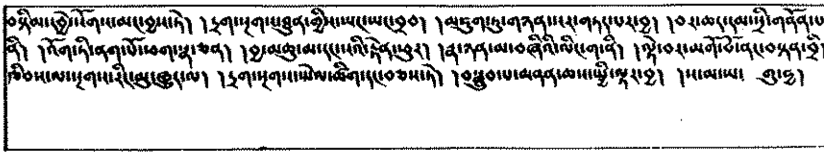


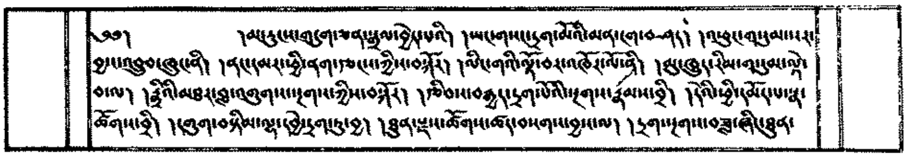
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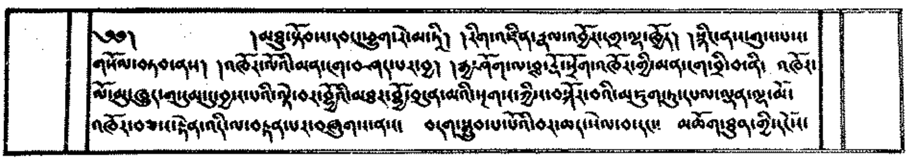


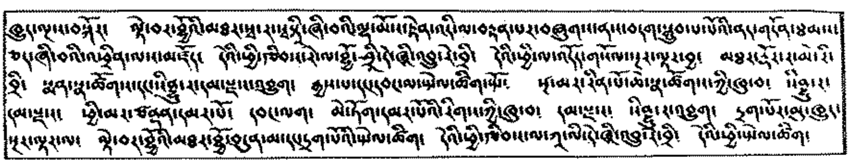


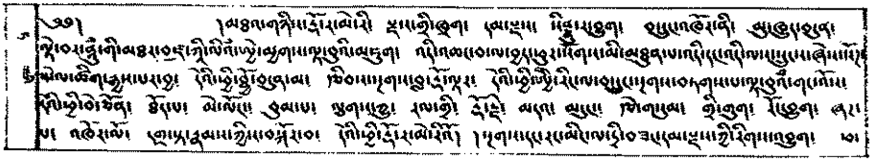


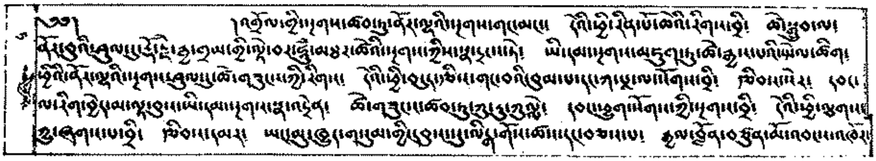




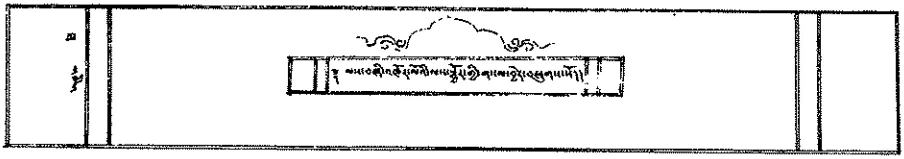


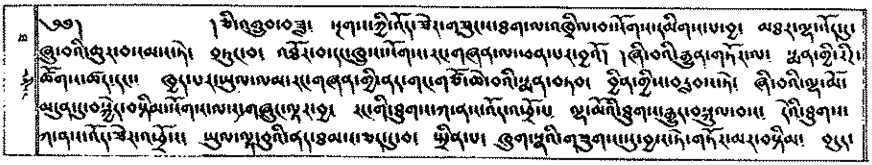


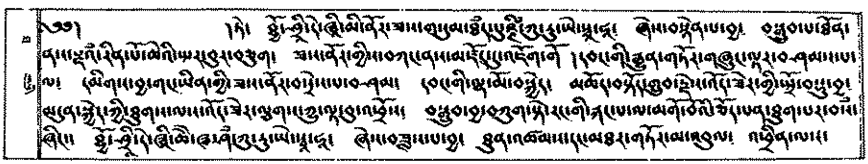


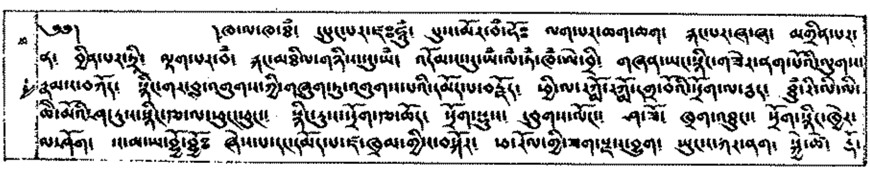


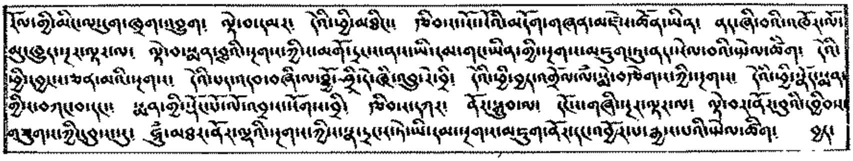
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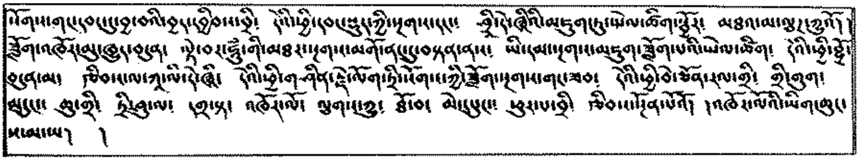


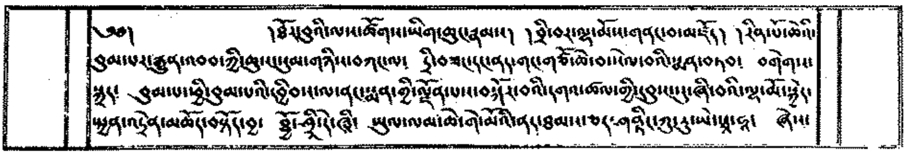


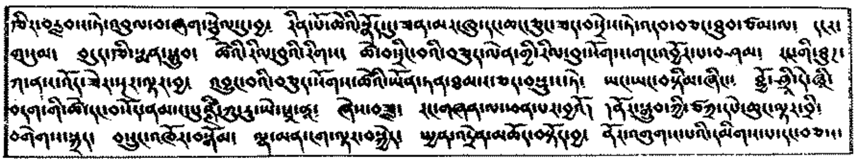


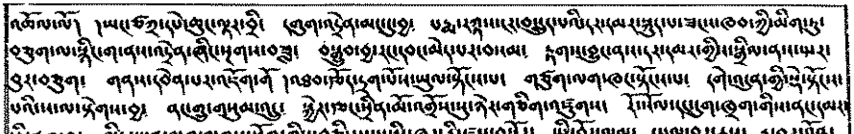


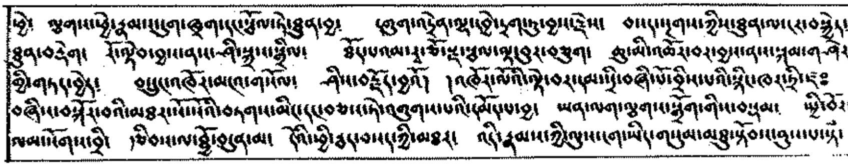


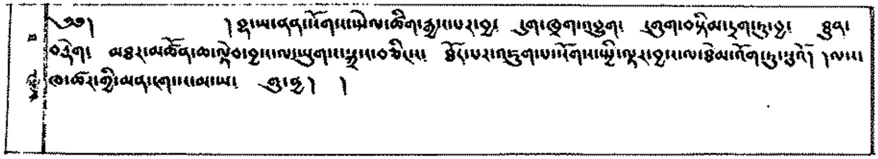




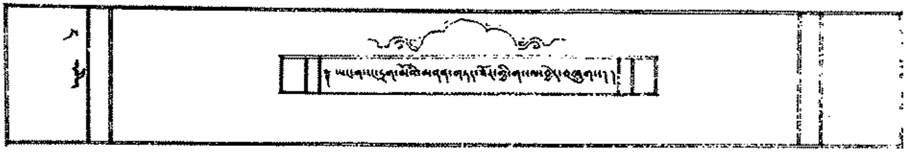


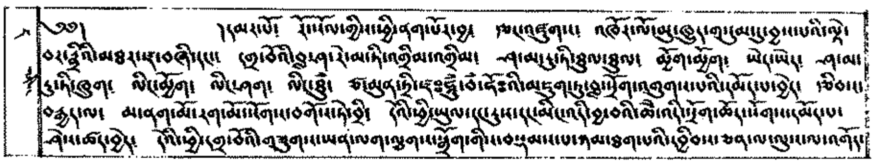


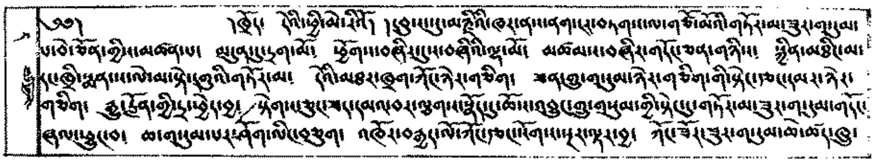




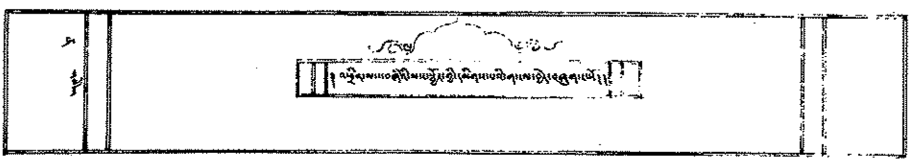
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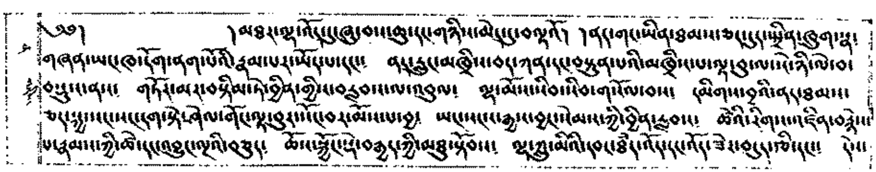


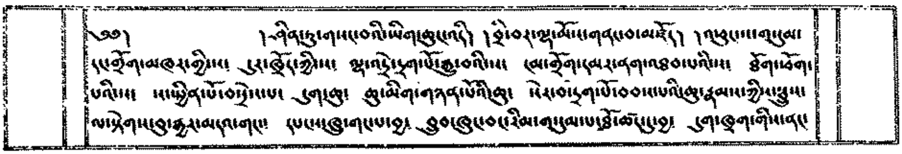


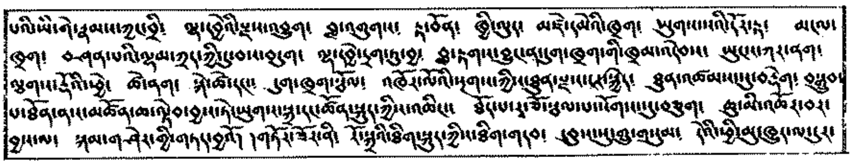


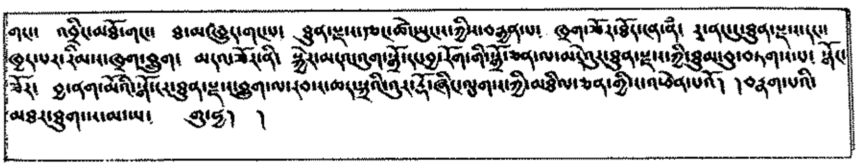
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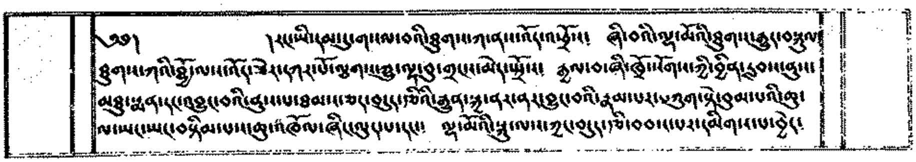


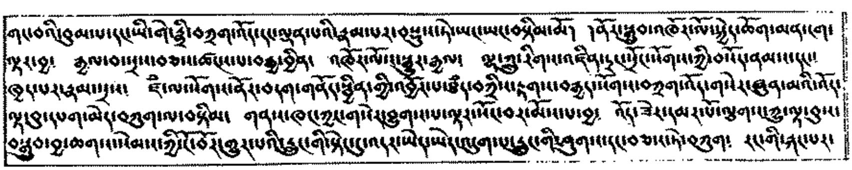


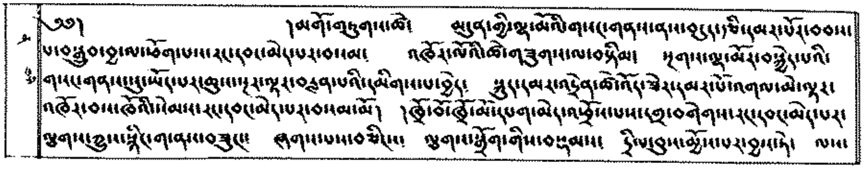


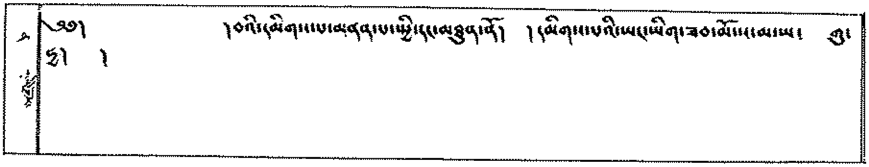




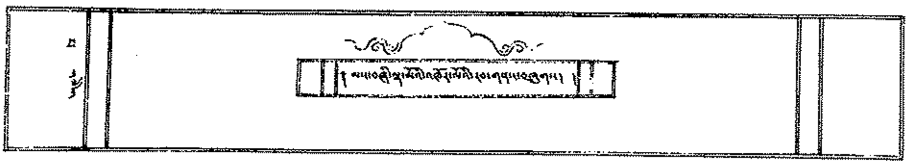


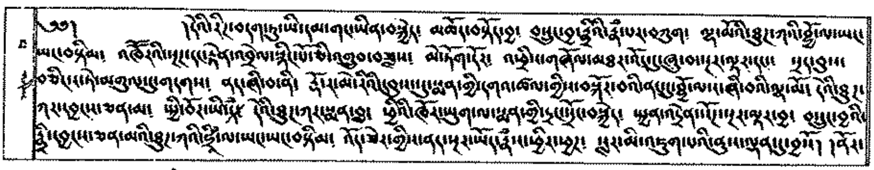


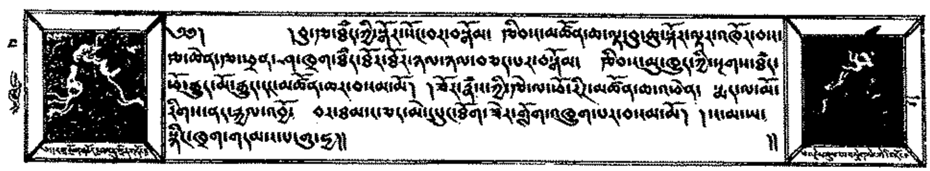


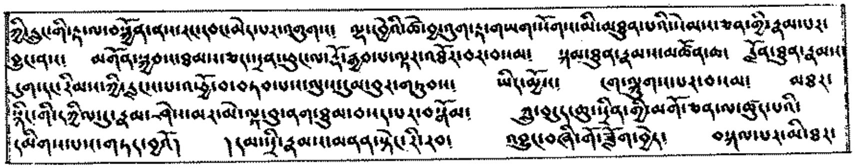


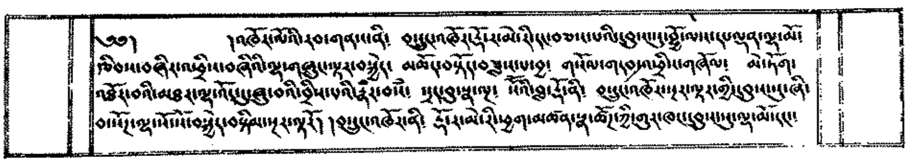
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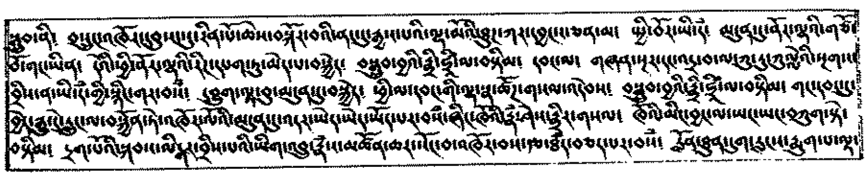












GLOSSARY

This glossary, in Tibetan alphabetical order, contains only the Tibetan and Sanksrit terms used in the English text and those which occur in the inscriptions of the illustrations.

kapāla Sanskrit (hereafter *Skr.*), skull-cup

kīla *Skr.* triple-bladed ritual dagger

kuśa *Skr.*, a sacred grass

ko-thod Tibetan woman's head-dress

kong-zor triangular cup for keeping the *zor* (q.v.)

klu see *Nāga*

klu-nor nyer-gcig various offerings to the *Nāgas*

klu'i-gnas dwelling of the *Nāgas*

dkyil-'khor = *maṇḍala* (q.v.)

bka'-sam honorific for *samṭa* (q.v.)

rkang-gling bone trumpets

rkang-gsum tripod

bskang-gso 'atonement ritual'

bskul-pa-po he who urges a learned man to write a book, instigator

bskrad-pa'i 'khor-lo *cakra* (q.v.) used in exorcism

khagyen see *kha-rgyan*

kha-rgyan bunch of peacock feathers and *kuśa* grass used with a vase in ablution

kha bsgyur-ba to paraphrase, amplify a passage

kha-sbyor two circular objects put together face to face

khyung see *garuda*

khrag-gi mchod-pa offering of blood, one of the five *nang-mchod* (q.v.)

khram-shing wooden tablet bearing the 'black list'

mkhris-pa'i dri-chab fluid of the gall-bladder as an offering, one of the five *nang-mchod* (q.v.)

'khor-lo = *cakra* (q.v.)

'khrul-snang illusive vision, mystic experience

ga'u charm box

garuḍa *Skr.*, mythical bird, enemy of snakes, hence antidote of the *Nāgas*

gu-ling gold

go-cha armour

gos-thung short garment

gri-gug curved knife, attribute of the *ḍākiṇis*

grib-sel purificatory ritual

gru-bzhi square

gru-gsum triangular

glang-ru ox horn

dgang-blugs = *dgang-gzar* and *blugs-gzar* (q.v.)

dgang-gzar ritual ladle used in the *homa* (q.v.) rite

dga'-ba joy, enjoyment

dgra-sta type of axe

bgegs type of noxious spirit that causes obstruction

bgegs-gtor *torma* (q.v.) offered to the *bgegs* (q.v.) spirits

'gugs-pa'i 'khor-lo diagram of a concentric circle with inscribed *mantras* (q.v.), used for summoning spirits in rituals

'gugs-pa'i liṅga *liṅga* (q.v.) used for evoking spirits

'gong-po spirits who cause mishaps

rgya-can sealed, hidden

rgyal-mtshan victory banner

rgyal-bsen type of noxious spirit

rgyas-pa see *'phrin-las bzhi*

rgyas-pa'i lha-mo an aspect of the goddess *dPal-ldan lha-mo*

rgyun-gtor = *'bul-gtor* (q.v.)

sgab-'dre ghost

sgo-nga egg

sgyid-thang hollow of the knee

sgral-ba to liberate, deliver, slay

sgrub-thabs 'method of realization' (= *Skr. sādhana*), usually a text setting forth the means of realization of a divinity

sgrub-pod volume of the ritual text

sgrol-gri ritual sword

bsgral-dbang empowerment initiation of liberation

mngon-spyod (= *abhicara*, *Skr.*) rites involving the subjugation or slaying of one's foe

rnga drum

sngags-'chang tantrist

cakra *Skr.* wheel, often transliterated as *tsa-kra* in Tibetan, referring to a diagram of concentric circles with inscribed *mantras* (q.v.)

cakravartin *Skr.* Buddhist ideal emperor, universal monarch

cumbana *Skr.* 'close contact'

cod-pan ritual diadem, crown

bcas-chog imprecation ritual

lcags-kyu hook

lcags-thag chain

chig-dril confluence, unity

chu-'khor *cakra* (q.v.) for symbolizing water

chos-dung conch shell

chos-bdag disciple to whom a teaching is especially entrusted by a master

chos-dbyug cane

chos-sman ritual medicine

mchod-gtor = *mchod-pa'i gtor-ma* (q.v.), 'sacrificial cake'

mchod-gtor sman-rak see *sman-rak gtor-gsum*

mchod-dpon sacristan

ja-rag type of tea-pot

nya-bo = *liṅga* (q.v.)

nyi-zla kha-sbyor 'union of the sun and moon', cf. *kha-sbyor*

nyer-spyod ritual articles, utility, oblation

gnyan mountain god

gnyis-zhus 'copied twice', second copy

snying heart

torma see *gtor-ma*

gter-ston person who finds old documents, religious texts hidden or buried

gter-srung guardian of religious texts hidden or buried

gtor-kheb altar-cloth

gtor-cog altar

gtor-ma sacrificial cake

gtor-zor *gtor-ma* (q.v.) used as a hurling offering in rituals, cf. *gtor-zlog*

gtor-zlog rite for turning away or back or averting noxious spirits

btags-grol 'realization through wearing', a form of *cakra* (q.v.) worn around the neck, essentially a meditative teaching

btags-grol 'ja'-shel crystal used in the *btags-grol* (q.v.) teaching for explaining the nature of the luminous mind

rta-zhal epithet of *Hayagrīva*

rten support, base

rten-gtor *torma* (q.v.) representing a divinity

ltas-ngan evil omen

lte-mig hole in the centre of an object, e.g. the navel of a water-mill

stegs = *gtor-cog* (q.v.)

thun various substances such as mustard seed used as ritual weapons

thun-gtor *torma* (q.v.) used as a *thun* (q.v.)

thun-snod container of the *thun* (q.v.) usually a horn, cf. *thun-rva*

thun-rva horn for keeping the *thun* (q.v.)

thun-ru = *thun-rva* (q.v.)

tho-ba hammer

thog-mda' thunderbolt

thod-thun skull used as a *thun* (q.v.)

thod-thun 'khor-lo diagram of circles with inscribed *mantras* used in imprecation rites

thod-pa skull

thod-khrag skull-cup full of blood

mtha'i dmag-dpung army of the borderlands

mthu-dbang empowerment initiation in magic rites

ḍākinī *Skr.*, type of yogini and goddess; feminine partner in tantric rituals

damaru *Skr.*, hand-drum

dam-sgrib 'impurities of the broken vows'

dam-sel lapse from vows

dam-sri person, alive or dead, who has broken his religious vows by becoming an opponent of the lama from whom he has taken vows

dar-skud silk thread

dung conch

drag-'khor see *drag-po'i 'khor-lo*

drag-po see *'phrin-las bzhi*

drag-po'i 'khor-lo *cakra* (q.v.) used in magic rituals

drag-po'i nyer-spyod items needed in magic rituals

drag-po'i lha-mo the fierce aspect of *dPal-ldan lha-mo*

drag-mo type of *torma* (q.v.)

drag-las magic rite in which the exorcist aims at subjugating his foe, cf. *las-sbyor*

dri-chab scented water, one of the five *phyi-mchod* (q.v.)

dril-bu Buddhist bell

drel-gson mule

bdud-mo bzhi four kinds of she-demon

gdugs parasol, canopy

bdug-spos incense, one of the five *phyi-mchod* (q.v.)

mda' arrow

mdung spear

'das ma-'das those who are within this world (*ma-'das*), e.g. mountain gods, and those who are beyond (*'das*), e.g. *Mahākāla*. Phrase used to classify deities according to their spiritual status

rdul-du brlag-rdzas substances that have the effect of destruction

rdo-rje see *vajra*

rdo-rje rgya-gram crossed *vajra* (q.v.)

rdo-rje slob-dpon officiating master in Buddhist rituals

lde-mig key

sdig-pa scorpion

sdigs-mdzub threatening gesture of the right hand, pointing the forefinger and index finger

sde-brgyad the eight categories of semi-deities

sde-srid title: ruler, governor

Nāga *Skr.*, mythical snake, ruler of the underworlds

nang-gi nyer-spyod oblation in esoteric rituals

nang-mchod offerings used in esoteric rituals

nang-rten 'internal support', an article kept to symbolize a deity, usually a figure of the deity

nad-rkyal bag containing 'disease', usually an attribute of a deity

nad-gdon spirits who bring illness

nad zhi-ba'i 'khor-lo diagram of a concentric circle, inscribed with *mantras* and used for dissipating illness

nas barley

nas-phud the first part of barley crop

nal-bu child born of incestuous union

ni-ri kind of stone(?)

ne'u-le mongoose

nor-bu jewel

gnod-sbyin (= *yaksa*, *Skr*), class of semi-god

mnan-thod skull used in imprecation rites

rnam-bum vase used in ablution ceremony

snag-tsha ink

padma *Skr.*, lotus

padmarakta *Skr.*, blood

padmaraga *Skr.*, ruby

par-bu spherical wooden bowl

spos incense

spos-phor incense-burner

pha-bong long-bu thorianite, cubic crystal found embedded in sandstone in the Yarlung valley, symbol of the 'soul' (*bla*) of a deity (*bla-rdo*, q.v.), particularly of *dPal-ldan lha-mo*

pha-vang long-bu see *pha-bong long-bu*

phud-rgyan receptacle containing the first part of food or fruits

phud-phor bowl

phur-pa see *kīla*

phur-srung = *phur-pa'i srung-ma*, the guardians of the *Phur-pa* cycle

phod-kha cloak worn by the Tantrists

phung-byed that which causes trouble

phyva class of gods

phyag-mtshan attribute of a deity

phyag-len customary practice, usage

phyi-mchod lnga offerings used in certain rituals: food, water, butter-lamp, incense and flowers

phyi-rten 'external support', an article kept as the symbol of a deity, cf. *nang-rten*

phyi-yi nyer-spyod oblation in exoteric rituals, cf. *nang-gi nyer-spyod*

'phrul 'magic sagacity'

'phreng-ba rosary

'phrin-las bzhi four kinds of action: *zhi-ba*, tranquillity, peace; *rgyas-pa*, prosperity, progress, advancement; *dbang*, subjugation; *drag-po*, violence, agitation

bam = *nya-bo* (q.v.)

bum-pa vase

be-con staff

bong-gson donkey

bodhicitta *Skr.*, = *gsang-rdzas* (q.v.)

bya-'ug owl

byad-rdzas substances used in imprecation rites

byi-sha mouse meat

byin 'splendour'

bla-rdo 'soul stone', cf. *pha-bong long-bu*

bla-rdo'i srog-'khor diagram of a circle containing the 'seed-syllable' (*sa-bon*) of a deity and the 'soul stone' (*bla-rdo*, q.v.)

blugs-gzar ritual ladle used in the *homa* (q.v.) rite

bhūta *Skr.*, ghost, goblin

dbang 1. used for translating *Skr. abhiṣeka* (q.v.); 2. subjugation, cf. *'phrin-las bzhi*

dbang-gi lha-mo an aspect of *dPal-ldan lha-mo*

dbang-sdud subjugation

dbang-po'i me-tog offering of the heart and eyes as flowers, one of the five *nang-mchod* (q.v.)

dbang-bum vase for the empowerment ceremony

dbang-rdzas items used in the empowerment ceremony

dbang-zhva hat worn by the master in the empowerment ceremony

dbab-rdzas substances that have the effect of summoning a deity

dbal-gtor type of *torma* (q.v.)

dbu-rgyan diadem

dbu-mdzad choir-master

dbyings-rig 'sphere and intellect'

dbye-rdzas substances that have the effect of disintegration

'bul-gtor *torma* (q.v.) used for offering

'byung-po see *bhūta*

'bru-sman grains mixed with medicinal herbs

'brub-khung triangular iron receptacle

sbo belly of an animal

sbyin-sreg see *homa*

ma-mo class of goddess

maṇḍala *Skr.*, circle, diagram representing celestial palace, symbol of universe

mantra *Skr.*, mystic spell

man-dal derived from the term *maṇḍala* (q.v.), representation of the universe, the world

man-shel crystal

mar-me butter-lamp

mar-nag oil

mi-rkang gling-bu human bone trumpets

me-'khor *cakra* (q.v.) symbolizing fire

me-gos 'fire-cloth'

me-lce flame

me-tog flower, one of the five *phyi-mchod* (q.v.)

me-long mirror

me-hom see *hom*

rmongs-rengs unconsciousness

sman medicine

sman-phud medicinal offering

sman-mo class of goddess

sman-rak see *sman-rak gtor-gsum*

sman-rak gtor-gsum the three kinds of oblation: *sman*, medicine; *rak* = *rakta* (q.v.); and *gtor* = *gtor-ma* (q.v.)

smyo-ba to become mad

tsakali miniature painting

tsan-pa egg(?)

tsitta (= *Skr. citta*) heart

gtso-bo chief, leader

btsan class of spirit

rtsang barberry shrub

rtsang-ra enclosure made of barberry shrub sticks

rtse-gsum trident

rtsal-dbang see *rig-pa'i rtsal-dbang*

tshil-chen-gyi mar-me human-fat lamp, one of the five *nang-mchod* (q.v.)

tshe-'gugs type of ritual of longevity, cf. *tshe-sgrub*

tshe-sgrub ritual of longevity

tshe-chu water used in ritual of longevity

tshe-bdud demon who causes premature death

tshe-mda' arrow used in ritual of longevity

tshe-bum vase used in ritual of longevity

tshe-dbang empowerment ceremony of long life in ritual of longevity

tshe-zas = *tshe-ril* (q.v.)

tshe-ril pill for longevity

tshe-rdzas items used in ritual of longevity

tshes-bcu mchod-pa prayer festival on the 10th day of the month

tshogs-kyi 'khor-lo (*Skr. gaṇacakra*) ritual involving a great variety of offerings, the term *tshogs* 'assembly' here refers to a particular sacrificial cake

tshogs-'khor see *tshogs-kyi 'khor-lo*

tshogs-zhing representation of an assembly of lamas and divinities

tshon-skud = *ring-cha* (q.v.)

tshon-dru = *tshon-skud* (q.v.)

rdzas-srung substance that has the effect of protecting oneself from evil spirits

vajra *Skr.*, often translated 'thunderbolt' or 'powerbolt', symbol of indestructibility and of *Vajrayāna*

va-thod fox-skull

zhva-nag 'black-hat'

zhags-pa lasso, noose

zhal-shes manual instruction

zhi-ba see *'phrin-las bzhi*

zhi-ba'i lha-mo the gentle aspect of *dPal-ldan lha-mo*

zhing-bkod depiction of heavens, life of saints

zhing-khams-kyi bkod-pa = *zhing-bkod* (q.v.)

bzhi-ba'i dbang-rten crystal used as the 'support' of the 3rd stage of the empowerment ceremony (*abhiṣeka*, q.v.)

zangs-khab copper needle

zangs-gzhung copper trough

zor various substances or materials hurled in the direction of one's foe in rituals

zor-gtor *gtor-ma* (q.v.) used as *zor* (q.v.), cf. also *gtor-zor*

zor-dbang empowerment initiation of the hurled offerings

zor-rdzas see *zor*

zor-las performance of a ritual involving the use of *zor* (q.v.)

zla-gam crescent

zlum-po circle, round

gzigs-snang honorific term for *'khrul-snang* (q.v.)

gzungs spell

gzungs-thag variegated cord

'ur-rdo sling

'o-chol milk

yab father, the male partner

yi-ge-pa scribe

yi-ge'i 'du-byed-pa calligrapher

yugs-skra widow's hair

yum mother, the feminine partner

g.yang-gzhi human skin

rakta *Skr.*, blood

rang-'thag water-mill

rang-byung self-made

rab-gnas consecration

ral-gri = *sgrol-gri* (q.v.)

ri-mo-ba draughtsman, artist

rig-pa'i rtsal-dbang 4th stage of the empowerment ceremony (*abhiṣeka*, q.v.)

ring-cha variegated cord, string, thread

ril-bu pill, tablet

rus-rgyan bone ornaments

rus-pa'i sked-rgyan bone necklace

re-nag-gi gos garment made of *re-ba* (q.v.)

re-ba cloth woven with yak's hair

ro-dbyug corpse-topped stick used in rituals

ro-g.yam cloth for wrapping the *liṅga* (q.v.)

rlung-'khor *cakra* (q.v.) for symbolizing wind; wind-mill

rlung-g.yab fan

la-cha sealing-wax

las-kyi gshin-rje see *las-gshin*

las-phur type of *phur-pa* (q.v.)

las-bum type of vase, jug

las-sbyor rite in which the officiating priest aims at subduing a foe, cf. *drag-las*

las-bzhi = *'phrin-las bzhi* (q.v.)

las-gshin *Yama*

liṅga diagram of a person, effigy of foe, sign, mark, phallus, symbol of *Śiva*

sha-chen-gyi bdug-spos incense made of human flesh, one of the five *nang-mchod* (q.v.)

sha-rus-kyi zhal-zas food made of meat and bones, one of the five *nang-mchod* (q.v.)

shva-na (*Skr. śvāna*) dog, jackal

shi-skra dead person's hair

shi-'dre ghost

sher-rten see *shes-rab-kyi rten*

shel crystal

shel-'phreng crystal rosary

shes-rab-kyi rten article representing the feminine partner in the empowerment ceremony (*abhiṣeka*, q.v.)

shes-rab dbang 3rd stage of the empowerment ceremony (*abhiṣeka*, q.v.)

shvo-rdel dice

bshos food for the gods, one of the five *phyi-mchod* (q.v.)

sa-'khor *cakra* (q.v.) for symbolizing earth

sa-gnad vital point in a place

sa-tshon coloured earth

samṭa small wooden boards with recessed surface for drafting or writing

siddha *Skr.*, yogin

sindūra *Skr.*, red lead; cinnabar or sacred ash

se-ral-kha bone apron

so-rtsi leaf of piper betel which the Indians chew, hence tooth-paint

srung-'khor see *srung-ba'i 'khor-lo*

srung-ba'i 'khor-lo diagram of concentric circles inscribed with *mantra* (q.v.) inside, often worn as an amulet

sreg-rdzas items to be burned in the *homa* (q.v.) rite

srog life, 'vital-force'

srog-'khor diagram of concentric circles containing the 'seed syllable' (*sa-bon*) which symbolizes the 'vital-force' of a divinity

srog-gi dbang-po the seed syllable of a deity

srog-dbang empowerment initiation of the 'vital-force'

gsang-rten 'hidden support', an article kept as the symbol of the esoteric aspect of a deity

gsang-ba'i rnam-thar 'secret biography'

gsang-rdzas 'secret substance' referring to semen and the uterine blood

gser-skyems tea as an oblation

gser-chos name of a group of teachings

gser-nya fish

gser-bris lettered in gold, script in gold

gson-'dre ghost of a living person

bsang purificatory ritual with the burning of juniper leaves

bsad-mnan = *bsad-pa dang mnan-pa* 'to slay and suppress'

bsun-ma type of *ḍākiṇī*

bsen-mo kind of female spirit

bsreg-'phang = *bsreg-pa dang 'phen-pa* 'to burn and hurl'

hom triangular iron receptacle used as a fire-place

homa *Skr.*, burning sacrificial rite

hom-khung = *hom* (q.v.)

lha dbye-ba'i rdzas substance used to incite the god of one's foe to abandon him

abhiṣeka *Skr.* = Tibetan *dbang*, often translated by initiation, consecration; *dbang bskur-ba*, 'to empower', hence 'empowerment'. The ceremony has four stages: 1. *bum-dbang*, 'initiation with vase'; 2. *nang-dbang*, 'esoteric initiation'; 3. *shes-rab dbang*, 'initiation with a feminine partner'; 4. *gsang-dbang*, 'introduction to one's own primordial intellect'.

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INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

Karmaguru, 30, 34, 42, 48, 49, 50, 51, 57
Karma bstan-skyong dbang-po, 7, 9
Karma drag-po, 73, 74, 156, 158, 170, 171
Karma-pa, 12
Karma phun-tshogs rnam-rgyal, 4, 6, 7
Kublai Khan, 3, 5, 9
Kun-skyong gling-pa, gTer-ston -, 42
Kun-dga' snying-po, see *Tāranātha*
Kun-dga' mi-'gyur stobs-rgyal dbang-gi rgyal-po see *Blo-bzang rgya-mtsho*
Kun-dga' lha-mdzes, 6
Koko-Nor, 5, 30, 36
Kongpo, 48, 55
Klu-khang, 25
Klu-sgrub snying-po, 40, 58
Klu-gnyan kun-'dul, 60, 102
Klong-chen rab-'byams, 4
dKon-mchog chos-'phel, Gling-smad zhabs-drung -, 7, 28
dKon-mchog lhun-grub, 'Khon-ston -, 7
bKa'-brgyad, 38, 40, 41, 43, 58, 67
bKa'-brgyud-pa, 4, 5, 6, 8
bKa'-gdams-pa, 35, 37, 57
bKra-shis stobs-rgyal, Chos-rgyal -, Byang-bdag -, xiii, 26, 30, 42, 51, 54, 64, 66, 67, 68, 74
bKra-shis-rtse, 32
bKra-shis lhun-po see Tashilhunpo
sKal-bzang rgya-mtsho, 35
sKyid-shod, 1
sKyin-mthing-ma, 128

Khadiravanitārā, 45, 53, 54, 66
Kham, 8, 10
Khams-gsum zil-gnon, rTa-mgrin -, 73, 74
Khams-gsum zil-gnon, 9, 25
Kheritaka, 11, 35, 36
Khra-'brug, 21, 42
Khri-sman sa-le-ma, 128
Khri-srong lde-btsan, 1, 3
mKhar-chen-bza' see *Ye-shes 'tsho-rgyal*

Ganden Palace, xi, 5, 7, 9, 28, 29, *passim*, 74
Garuḍa, 102
Guru rta-mgrin, A-gur -, 15, 16, 24, 65
Guru drag-po, 34, 46
Guru drag-dmar, 36, 39, 52, 53, 55, 62, 66, 94
Guru bde-ba-can, 48
Gushri Khan, 8, 9, 28, 30, 32, 38
Guhya, Rong-bu -, 58
Guhyacandra, 40
Gong-dkar, 30
Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, 7
Gla-go dung-sgo, 42
Glang Dar-ma see *Dar-ma*
dGa'-gdong, sNgags-ram-pa -, 67
dGa'-ldan chos-'khor-gling, 37
dGa'-ldan pho-brang see Ganden Palace
dGe-'dun-grub, Dalai Lama I, 5, 74
dGe-'dun rgya-mtsho, Dalai Lama II, 5, 28
dGe-'dun blo-gros, 243

dGe-lugs-pa, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 30, 38, 57, 62, 74
dGe-legs dpal-bzang, mKhas-grub -, 13
dGra-'dul rab-brtan, 6
mGon-khang, 22, 24
mGon-po bSod-nams mchog-ldan, gNas-gsar -, 32, 66, 130
'Gro-ba kun-sgrol, 39
'Gro-ba kun-'dul, 62
rGyal, 5, 30
rGyal-ba'i 'byung-gnas, 'Brom -, 34-35
rGyal-mtshan mthon-po, 11
rGyal-rtse, 24

Ngag-gi dbang-po, Rig-'dzin -, 51, 67
Ngag-dbang chos-rgyal, 28
Ngag-dbang blo-bzang rgya-mtsho see *Blo-bzang rgya-mtsho*
Ngag-dbang shes-rab, mChod-dpon -, 15, 21, 65
mNgon-dga', 28, 60
mNgon-rdzogs, 58
rNga-yab-gling = *Zangs-mdog dpal-ri* q.v.
lNga-pa chen-po see *Blo-bzang rgya-mtsho*

Candali, 67
Cittaviśramana, 29, 37, 45, 48, 49, 50, 57, 61, 62, 92
Cintāmaṇicakra, 47, 48
Cog-tse-la, 36
lCags-po-ri, 20

Ch'ang-an, 1
Chu-bo-ri, 37, 46
Chu-bzang-ba, 33
Chu-shur, 37
Chu-srin gdong, 00
Che-mchog, 37, 40, 41, 66
Chenlo'u, 11
Chos-'khor-gling, 35
Chos-'khor-rgyal, 5, 28, 32
Chos-rgyal lha'i tshangs-pa see Altan Khan
Chos-'phel bzang-po, 35
Chos-dbang, Guru -, 42, 54, 62
Chos-dbyings rang-grol, Zur -, xiii, 7, 8, 9, 29, 30, 31, 32, 38, 44, 49, 51, 66, 67, 142, 148
'Chi-bdag bdud-'joms, 42, 82
'Chi-med bde-ldan-'khyil, 10

Jokhang, 2, 8, 32, 40, 46, 49
Jo-khang see Jokhang
Jo-nang-pa, 6, 12
Jo-bo, 8
'Jam-dpal rdo-rje, 37
'Jam-dpal rdo-rje, Zhang-mkhar -, 29
'Jam-dpal tshe-bdag, 29, 40
'Jam-dpal gshin-rje 'joms-byed, 67
'Jam-dpal bshes-gnyen, 40, 58
'Jam-dbyangs grags-pa, dGe-slong -, 15, 16, 18, 63, 68
'Jam-dbyang bstan-'dzin, gNas-btsun -, 16, 65

'Jig-rten dbang-phyug, 'Phags-pa -, see *Lokeśvara*
rJe gzigs-pa lnga-ldan, 13

Nyi-ma 'od-zer, Nyang-ral -, 42, 62, 66
Nyi-zla 'od-zer see *Legs-ldan rdo-rje*
Nyi-'od, 10, 60
gNyan Lo-tsā-ba, 59, 74
rNying-ma-pa, 6, 7, 8, 21, 29, 37, 48, 51, 52, 73, 142

Tārā, 3, 45, 53, 55, 66
Tāranātha, 6, 12
Tashilhunpo, 5, 7, 9, 11
gTer-bdag gling-pa, 21, 62, 67
rTa-mgrin see *Hayagriva*
sTobs-ldan nag-po, 40, 58
bsTan-skyong dbang-po see *Karma bstan-skyong dbang-po*
bsTan-'dzin chos-rgyal see Gushri Khan
bsTan-'dzin phrin-las, Yol-mo -, 67

Thang-stong rgyal-po, Grub-chen -, 26, 32, 38, 46, 47
Thang-lha, gNyan-chen -, 30, 36, 44, 59, 64
Thugs-rje chen-po see *Mahākaruṇā*
Thub-bstan rgya-mtsho, Dalai Lama XIII, 243
Thod-pa-rtsal. Rig-'dzin -, xiii, 66
Thod-'phreng-rtsal see *Thod-pa-rtsal*
Thob-rgyal, 9

Dam-sri zil-gnon see *Hayagriva*
Dar-ma, lHa-sras -, 2, 3
Dar-ma grags see *gNyan lo-tsā-ba*
Dalai Lama
I see *dGe-'dun-grub*
II see *dGe-'dun rgya-mtsho*
III see *bSod-nams rgya-mtsho*
IV see *Yon-tan rgya-mtsho*
V see *Blo-bzang rgya-mtsho*
VI see *Tshangs-dbyangs rgya-mtsho*
XIII see *Thub-bstan rgya-mtsho*
Dhanasanskrita, 40
Dharmaśrī, Lo-chen -, 21
Dung-skyong-ma, 36
Drag-po-rtsal see *rDo-rje drag-po-rtsal*
Drag-mo see *dPal-ldan lha-mo*
Drag-dmar see *Guru drag-dmar*
Dran-mchog, 54
Dri-med, Drang-srong -, 40, 41
Drung-mtsho, 30
Dregs-pa see *Dregs-pa kun-'dul*
Dregs-pa kun-'dul, 40, 57, 58
Drepung, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 29, 33, 34, 37, 41, 43, 53, 60, 63
gDong-la, 36
bDe-ba-can, 28, 29
bDe-ba chen-po, O-rgyan -, 50
bDe-ba bzang-po rGyal-sras -, 33
rDo-khang sngon-mo, 5
rDo-rje-grags, Ras-chung -, 28

rDo-rje grags-ldan, gNas-chung -, 26, 35, 36, 38, 42, 44, 47, 74
rDo-rje gro-lod, 19, 34, 37, 40, 41, 43, 52, 56, 58, 61, 62, 63, 73, 74, 84, 110, 112, 116, 118
rDo-rje thogs-med-rtsal see Blo-bzang rgya-mtsho
rDo-rje drag-po-rtsal, 36, 37, 38, 39, 43, 50, 58, 84
rDo-rje-brag, 60
rDo-rje legs-pa, 112, 116
rDor-legs see rDo-rje legs-pa

Nāgarakṣa 'og-gdon mthar-byed, 60, 104
Nāro mkha'-spyod, 66
Nam-mkha' rgyal-po, 51
Nam-mkha' rgyal-mtshan, lHo-brag -, 57
Nam-mkha'i snying-po, gNubs -, 38
Namgyal College, 10, 29, 35, 38, 39, 42, 43, 44, 51, 52, 53, 56, 60, 66
Nub-dgon-rje, Rig-'dzin -, 54
Nor-bu gling-ka see Norbulingka
Nor-bu, sGyid-thang -, 67
Norbulingka, 25
gNam-skas-brag, 42
gNam-ri slon-btsan, 1, 2
gNas-chung see rDo-rje grags-ldan
rNam-rgyal grva-tshang see Namgyal College College
sNa-dkar-rtse, 6
sNar-thang, 67
sNe'u-sdong, 5

Padmaguru, 42
Padma gling-pa, 62
Padma mthong-grol, 42, 54, 62
Padma bdud-'dul, 62, 66
Padma 'phrin-las, 60, 66
Padma las-rab-rtsal see Blo-bzang rgya-mtsho mtsho
Padma yang-gsang, 40
Padmasambhava, xiii, 26, 30, 31, 32, 34, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 62, 63, 64, 66, 67, 73, 92, 94
Putra ming-sring, 36, 60
Pehar see rDo-rje grags-ldan
Potala, 1, 3, 10, 12, 15, 16, 33, 38, 53, 54, 55, 57, 61, 76
Potala, Pho-brang -, xiv, 10, 21, 24, 25, 38, 39, 44, 47, 52, 56, 57, 59, 60, 61, 63, 66, 67, 73, 76, 86
dPal-'khar chos-sde, 24
dPal-gyi yon-tan, Bran-ka -, 2
dPal-ldan lha-mo, xiii, 22, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 36, 38, 41, 43, 49, 53, 56, 58, 68, 69, 73, 74, 122, 124, 126, 128, 130, 132, 134, 146
sPang-chung, 32

Pha-bong-kha, 44, 59
Pha-vang g.yu-brag, 42
Phag-mo see Vārāhi
Phag-mo-gru, 3, 4, 6, 9
Phun-tshogs rnam-rgyal see Karma phun-tshogs rnam-rgyal
Phur-pa, 33, 36, 40, 58, 66, 67, 128
Pho-brang dkar-po, 10
Pho-brang dmar-po, 10
'Phags-pa, 3, 5, 9, 23
'Phags-pa lha-khang, 10
'Pying-ba stag-rtse, 6
'Phyong-rgyas, xi, 6, 29, 62
Phrin-las rgya-mtsho, Ja'i-sang sde-ba -, 30, 32, 47

Bu-chu, 48
Buddhabhaiṣajyaguru, 56, 62, 66
Be-ri, 8, 12
Beg-tse, gNod-sbyin -, 60, 62, 74, 106, 112, 116, 128
Byang-chub gling-pa, 48
Byang-bdag Rig-'dzin see bKra-shis stobs-rgyal
Byams-pa, Amdo -, 25, n. 34
Brag-sna chos-rje, 29
Brag-dmar ri-mo-can, 42
Brag seng-ge khyi-cog, 62
Brag srin-mo sbar-rjes, 42
Bru, 11
Bla-ma rig-'dzin, 58
Blo-gros mchog-gi rdo-rje, sMan-lung-pa -, 60
Blo-gros mchog-ldan, Khra-tshang-pa -, 52, 59
Blo-bzang grags-pa, Tsong-kha-pa -, xiii, 4, 5, 8, 13, 28, 36, 38, 57
Blo-bzang rgya-mtsho, Dalai Lama V, xiii, 4, 6–12, 68, 73, 243
Blo-bzang chos-grags, Dar-mo -, 15
Blo-bzang chos-rgyan, Pan-chen -, 7, 11
Blo-bzang mthu-stobs, mChod-dpon -, 37
Blo-bzang dpal-'byor, 67
Blo-bzang dbang-po, 68
Blo-bzang ye-shes, Pan-chen II, 11
Blo-bzang yon-tan, dBu-mdzad -, 15, 60, 65
Blo-gsal-gling, 28
Blo-gsal rgya-mtsho, Tshar-chen -, 31, 32, 59
Bhrikuti, 66
dBang-po-sde see bKra-shis stobs-rgyal
dBang-phyug see Śiva
dBus see Ü
'Bras-spungs see Drepung
'Bri-gung, 48

Ma-gcig dpal-lha see dPal-ldan lha-mo
Manjuśrī, 3, 36, 37, 44, 57, 58, 59, 60
Mandarāvā, xiii, 40, 41, 45, 57, 58, 59, 63
Ma-mo, 40
Ma-ru-rtse, 62
Mahākaruṇā, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 46, 50, 53, 57, 58, 61, 92
Mahākāla, 23, 28, 30, 31, 32, 37, 59, 60
Maitreya, 38, 63
Mu-le-ting, 56
Me-thub-ma, 42
Me-rlung 'khyil-ba, 62
Mon, 59
dMag-zor see dPal-ldan lha-mo
dMag-zor rgyal-mo see dMag-zor
dMar-po-ri see Potala, Pho-brang -
sMan-rtsis-khang, 20
sMan-ri, 25
sMin-grol-gling, 21

Tsa-ri, 29
Tsang, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 29, 37
Tsi'u, 36
Tsong-kha-pa see Blo-bzang grags-pa
gTsang see Tsang
gTsang-rong, 74
gTso-mo see dPal-ldan lha-mo
rTsva sgyer-mo, 34
rTse rNam-rgyal grva-tshang see Namgyal College

Tsha-rting-kha, 37
Tsha-ba bka'-bcu, 28
Tshangs-dbyangs rgya-mtsho, Dalai Lama VI, 12
Tshar-chen see Blo-gsal rgya-mtsho
Tshe-brtan rdo-rje, Zhing-shag -, 4
mTsho-skyes rdo-rje, 59, 66, 67, 88
'Tsho-rgyal see Ye-shes 'tsho-rgyal

rDzogs-chen, 7, 16

Vajrakīla, 30, 34
Vajrakumāra, 49, 58
Vajradhara, 43, 62
Vajrapāṇi, 3, 37, 44, 52, 53, 57, 59, 60, 66
Vajrayoginī, 53, 55
Vajrasattva, 41, 54
Vārāhi, 92
Varti, 10, 38, 44, 47, 49, 52, 53, 76
Vairocana, Lo-chen -, Ba-gor -, 63, 67
Vidhvaṃsana, 46, 47, 48
Vimalamitra, 40, 45, 58

Zha-lu, 32
gZhis-ka-rtse see Shigatse
gZhis-ka shar-pa, 15, 65

Za-hor, 18, 37, 65
Za-hor-gyi ban-de see Blo-bzang rgya-mtsho
Za-hor-ma, O-rgyan -, 30, 33, 38, 41, 42, 48
Zangs-mdog dpal-ri, 34, 41, 44, 45, 48, 54, 55, 57, 59, 62, 66
Zab-phu, 42
Zur see Chos-dbyings rang-grol
gZa' see Rāhula

Yama, xiii, 38, 55, 58, 80
Yang-dag, 40
Yang-gsang drag-po, 61, 64
Yang-gsang drag-mo see dPal-ldan lha-mo
Yarlung, 6, 32
Yar-lung see Yarlung
Yid-'dzin-ma see Mandarāvā
Yum-bu bla-sgang, 48
Ye-shes 'tsho-rgyal, mKha'-'gro -, mKhar-chen-bza' -, xiii, 26, 34, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 48, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58, 62, 63, 67
Yer-ba, 55
Yon-tan rgya-mtsho, Dalai Lama IV, 6, 7
g.Ya'-ma-lung, 62
g.Yon-ru, 67

Ratna gling-pa, 42, 62
Ratna 'gro-'dul, 39
Rāhula, 30, 41, 47, 60, 112, 116
Rva-sgreng, 28, 37
Rab-gsal, 29, 38, 42
Ral-pa-can, 2, 3
Rig-'dzin rdo-rje, 25
Rigs-'dus brda'-dbang lnga-pa, 68
Rigs-'dus Padmaguru, 39
Rin-chen-grub, Bu-ston -, 4
Rin-spungs
Remati see dPal-ldan lha-mo

Lanka, 46, 49, 54, 64
Las-'phro gling-pa, *Gar-dbang* -, 39
Las-bzhi'i lha-mo, 68
Legs-ldan rdo-rje, *Rig-'dzin* -, *gTer-ston* -, 30, 37, 47, 52, 57, 60, 61, 73
Lokeśvara, 10, 38, 39, 44, 45, 47, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58, 60, 62, 63, 64, 74, 76

Śākyamuni, 39
Śāntigarbha, 40, 58
Śambhala, 34, 38
Sham-po-gangs, 66
Shigatse, 4
Śiva, 156, 158, 168
Shun Chih, 10
Shes-rab 'od-zer, *'Phrang-mgo* -, 39, 42, 62
Śrīdevī see *dPal-ldan lha-mo*
gShin-rje see *Yama*

Sa-skya-pa, 3, 5, 22, 31, 59
Samada, 24
Sangs-rgyas gling-pa, 42
Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho, *sDe-srid* -, xiii, 10, 12, 15, 17, 20 n. 7, 24, 25, 66, 243
Sangs-rgyas ye-shes, *gNubs* -, 57
Sera, 5
Seng-ge'i-gdong, xiii
Seng-ge gdong-ma, 23
Sems-nyid ngal-gso see *Cittaviśramana*
Srong-btsan sgam-po, 1, 3, 10, 26, 32, 34, 36, 39, 44
gSang-sgrub see *dPal-ldan lha-mo*
gSang-sngags dga'-tshal, 10
gSang-ba ye-shes, *mKha'-'gro* -, 48, 50
bSam-'grub-rtse, xiv, 4, 6, 8
bSam-blo mi-rgan, 53
bSam-yas, 2, 33
bSod-nams grags-pa, *Pan-chen* -, 7
bSod-nams rgya-mtsho, Dalai Lama III, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10
bSod-nams chos-'phel, *sDe-srid* -, 7, 28, 30, 44, 46
bSod-nams dpal-'bar, 48, 54, 58
bSod-nams rab-brtan see *bSod-nams chos-'phel*

Hayagrīva, 28, 43, 44, 45, 46, 50, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 62, 66, 74, 80, 88, 102
Hasti, *Pra-chen* -, 58
Hūṃkara, 40, 58
Hevajra, 23
Heruka, 39, 51

A-gur see *Guru rta-mgrin*
Ācārya dMar-po, xiii, 74
Atiśa, xiii, 35, 37
Amitābha, 44, 50, 53, 92
Amitayus, 38, 42, 45, 46, 47, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 60, 61, 63
Avalokiteśvara, 3, 10, 23, 29, 31, 37, 38, 39, 44, 47, 48, 51, 55, 58, 59, 60, 61, 64, 76
Altan Khan, 5, 9
Ü, 8
Ekajātī, 41
E-re sgo-rdzong, 28
O-rgyan bDe-ba chen-po, 50
O-rgyan Za-hor-ma see *Za-hor-ma*
Oḍḍiyāna, 34